THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BASIS OF SUPPORT FOR THE BUDDHIST RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF WESTERN INDIA: *CIRCA* 200 B.C. TO A.D. 200

by

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Abstract

This thesis is an analysis of the inscriptions, dating before the third century B.C., from the Buddhist cave excavations of Western India.

The first chapter defines the inscriptions in terms of a corpus chronologically closely related, the period examined in general being that of the Sātavāhana dynasty. The corpus is also defined as being related in terms of language and alphabet. The purpose of the inscriptions is similar in that they are all donations to the Buddhist religious institutions as represented by the cave excavations. These cave excavations, in their iconography, all belong to the Hīnayāna phase of Buddhism.

The cave excavations and thus the corpus of inscriptions they contain are also related in terms of ther spatial distribution. In the second chapter the spatial distribution of the cave excavations is examined in terms of the traditional interior to coast routes in Western India. The cave excavations are located close to important ancient towns located on these routes. The spatial distribution of the cave excavations is the basis on which the subsequent analysis of the types of donors and donations recorded in the inscriptions is undertaken.

The third chapter analyzes the types of donations recorded in the inscriptions, gifts for the excavation of the caves and endowments for their maintenance. Four groups of donors are established: royal and administrative, commercial and landed, <u>Saṅgha</u> and 'others'.

The fourth chapter is an examination of donations of endowments. These endowments are of two types, those of land and those of money. The distribution of these endowments is analyzed in terms of the spatial distribution of the cave excavations and related to the contemporary economic and political history of Western India.

The analysis of donations and donors describes the general socio-economic basis of donations to the Buddhist religious institutions in the period under consideration. Certain sites, however, have relatively large numbers of certain types of donations and donors. This is explained in terms of the established spatial distribution of the cave excavations. The distribution of endowments is particularly used to show the contemporary dynasties' efforts to control the upland centers and passes associated with the cave excavations. Royal donations were then made to the cave excavations, particularly for example at Nasik, as a factor of the Sātavāhana-Kṣatrapa conflict of the first to second centuries A.D. The control of the upland centers and thus the traditional routes to the coast then created conditions favourable for trade, particularly the international seaborne trade with the Roman Empire. The numbers of commercial and landed donors and of endowments of money at coastal Kanheri are seen as a factor of the re-establishment of Sātavāhana rule in Western India.

The thesis concludes with an examination of the inscriptions in terms of the historical development of the donative process in Buddhism. Particular emphasis is given to the specific

local political and economic information such inscriptions can yield, as here summarized, when an analysis as presented in this thesis is undertaken.

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CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION

The understanding of the means of support by which institutions are established and maintained is essential for an understanding of the religious institutions of ancient India and the society in which they functioned. The means by which a particular religious institution, as represented by the remaining historical monuments of ancient India, was supported varied according to the local political, social and economic conditions and organizations present in its contemporary society. A study of the means by which a religious institution was supported will then illuminate those conditions and organizations present in the society from which the religious institution came, in addition to the understanding of the religious institution itself.

Inscriptions provide the source material for such a study of the means of support for religious institutions in ancient India. Fortunately, there is a large body of donative inscriptions found on the religious monuments of ancient India. In the absence of any form of extensive, written records from ancient India, inscriptions have provided one of the most important historical source materials. With certain exceptions, inscriptions were not designed to convey political information. Any particular political information these inscriptions provide is incidental to the original purposes of the inscriptions. This is not to discount the important historical information these inscriptions may provide, when lacking other sources. In this study, however, attention will primarily be given to the original purpose of the inscriptions from the cave excavations of Western India, <u>circa</u> 200 B.C. to

A.D. 200; the means of support by which these religious institutions were established and maintained.

The use of caves a religious retreats is a very ancient one in India. Indeed, the use of natural caverns by religious ascetics is common in India even today. The first examples of caves which are not, as seen today, of natural formation are those caves found in modern Bihar. These caves, in the Barabar hills, at Rajgir and at Sita-Marhi, are in the ancient Magadha kingdom and date from the late Mauryan period, the third and second centuries B.C.. First appearing in this ancient center of imperial kingdoms, the tradition of cave excavation re-appears throughout India at later dates.[1] The most numerous of excavated caves, however, are to be found in Western India. Cave excavation in Western India first appears in the second century B.C., being excavated for Buddhist monks. The tradition of cave excavation continues through the end of the first millenium A.D., with many of the later caves being Hindu and Jain excavations.

The caves of Western India are excavated in,

> An immense accumulation of volcanic rocks, principally basaltic lavas, known as the 'Deccan trap'. This is the most important geological formation in the Bombay Presidency [present day Maharashtra], covering almost entirely the region included between the 16th and 22nd parallels of latitude, together with the greater part of the Kāthiāwār peninsula and a large portion of Cutch.[2]

Those cave sites which will be examined are principally located in the range of hills, the Western Ghāṭs, which form the western seaward edge of this 'Deccan trap' geological formation. These Western Ghāṭs are described as running,

> ...southward, parallel to the sea-coast for upwards of 1,000 miles, with a general elevation of about 1,800 feet

> above the sea, though individual peaks rise to more than double that height. The western declivity is abrupt, and the low strip of land bordering the sea-shore is seldom more than 40 miles in width. The Ghāṭs do not often descend in one sheer precipice, but, as is usually the case with a trap formation, the descent is broken by a succession of terraces. The landward slope is gentle, also falling in terraces, the crest of the range being in many cases but slightly raised above the level of the central plateau of the Deccan.[3]

The narrow coastal strip also contains outcropings of the basaltic 'Deccan trap'; thus some of the cave excavations to be considered are found here. This coastal strip, "...is a difficult country to travel in, for in addition to rivers, creeks, and harbours, there are many isolated peaks and detached ranges of hills."[4]

The nature of the Western Ghāṭs being of a "succession of terraces", the many faces of hard basaltic rock of even strata make ideal locations for the excavation of caves. Certainly, any natural caverns in these geological formations, in addition to the close availability of natural springs, must have provided an advantageous monsoon, varṣa, retreat for the earliest wandering Buddhist monks in Western India. Over a period of time, natural caverns would have been excavated and enlarged and new caves would be excavated where there was a suitable geological terrain and water source and where, as shall be seen later, suitable population centers and transportation routes lay nearby. The initiation of the excavation of caves must have begun soon after the introduction of Buddhism into Western India. The first excavated caves date to the later second century B.C., perhaps a century after the expansion of Buddhism throughout India initiated in the Mauryan period,

particularly under the patronage of Aśoka.[5] That there would be century or more between the introduction of Buddhism into Western India and the undertaking of the excavation of caves is not surprising.[6] It would have taken a considerable period of time for wandering monks of a heterodox religion to become established and accepted in the contemporary Brahmanical society. The initiation of the excavation of caves, as the inscriptions will elucidate, implies that the Buddhist religion as an institution was already well established in the contemporary society of Western India.

Buddhism is a monastic religion and as such, one of its initial requirements is some place of residence for the monks, particularly during the rainy season retreat. One of the prominent features of any Buddhist monastic institution, be it a freestanding structure or an excavated cave, is a vihāra or monastic residence. The vihāra is a quadrangular building with indvidual residence cells lining its sides, usually the interior three sides in the cave excavations. The vihāra does undergo some architectural modifications throughout its history in India and in the cave excavations. Most notably these modifications are in terms of architectural elaboration, as for example in the addition of interior pillars. Modification also occurs in the elaboration of the original purpose of the vihāra, as for example in the addition of an image shrine in the rear wall. However, throughout its history and particularly in the cave excavations considered here, the vihāra retains its primary function as a living quarter.

The other fundamental structure in any Buddhist monastic institution, be it freestanding or excavated, is an object of

worship for both monks and laymen. The earliest object of worship in Buddhism is the stūpa. This tumulus-like structure, whose origin and significance are obscure, continuesto be a prominent object of worship throughout the history of Buddhism. In later developments within Buddhism, the anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha also becomes an object of worship. However, in the phase of cave excavations to be studied, only the stūpa is conceived of as an object of worship. The stūpa can be a large freestanding structure as seen at Bharut, Sanchi or numerous other places throughout the Buddhist world. An example of such a large, freestanding stūpa has recently been found in Western India, at Pauni near present day Nagpur.[7] In the cave excavations, undoubtably because of the medium of excavation, the stūpa is usually conceived of as being enclosed in an apsidal, pillared hall, with an elaborate horseshoe shaped window. This complete structure is known as a caitya, the word itself implies the presence of a stūpa.

It should be emphasized that the structures seen excavated from the living rock in Western India are the same, albeit adapted to their particular medium of construction, as contemporary free-standing structures in brick and stone, found throughout the Indian subcontinent. The cave excavations also undergo the same general architectural development as their contemporary freestanding counterparts. The common origin for both the vihāra and caitya is said to be in wooden prototypes.[8] No such wooden prototypes are extant today, although supporting evidence for their existence can be found represented in the reliefs on the Bharut and Sanchi gateways. The Buddhist monastic institutions, whether constructed in

wood, brick or stone ore excavated from the living rock are the same institutions. The presence of well preserved excavated caves should not, in their essential nature, be considered unique. Such monastic institutions have been found throughout the Indian subcontinent where archaeological excavations have been conducted. The cave excavations are unique only in that, because of the imperishable medium of their excavation, they have survived mostly intact. The living rock has also preserved many of the inscriptions of the monuments. This unique preservation provides a record of the means of support and maintenance of a series of Buddhist religious institutions related in terms of geography and functioning in the same society in the same period.

It has been previously stated that the excavation of caves in Western India began in the second century B.C. and continued through the first millennium A.D. With such a long period of excavation, how then will those particular monuments to be here considered be isolated? The most fundamental division of the excavations has already been mentioned. The cave excavations first divide themselves as to religious affiliation. Buddhist monuments will only be considered in this study. Furthermore, only those Buddhist cave excavations which date from the inception of cave excavation, that is the late second century B.C., to the third century A.D. will be considered. During this period, Buddhist monuments predominate. The Hindu and Jain excavations, together with some Buddhist excavations date to the period after the fourth century A.D..

This division of the cave excavations into two periods is in no sense arbitrary. Firstly, few, if any, of the cave excavations

can be attributed to the fourth century A.D. Little cave excavation occured also during the third century A.D., although inscriptional evidence indicates some activity during this century.[9] This general division of the cave excavations and particularly those of Buddhist affiliation, into two phases is generally attributed to the internal theological division of Buddhism into the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna persuasions.[10] This division is maintained primarily on iconographic evidence found in the caves. The earlier caves contain little use of the Buddha image nor do they contain any representations of Bodhisattvas which are peculiar to the Mahāyanā persuasion. This strict chronological divison of the caves, the earlier being Hīnayāna, the later being Mahāyāna, is probably not absolutely accurate. No study has been attempted, for example, which analyzes the iconography of the later caves for evidence of the continuation of the Hīnayāna persuasion. The Buddha image in the later phase need not be solely attributed to the Mahāyāna persuasion, it was certainly common to many forms of Buddhism at this time. The Chinese pilgrim, Hsian Tsang (early seventh century A.D.), also reported the continuation of the Hīnayāna persuasion in Western India.[11] The analysis of the iconographical use of Bodhisattvas is the only way to determine the extent of the division of the later caves into the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna persuasions. The earlier caves, to be studies here, do all appear to belong to the Hīnayāna persuasion. It should, however, be remembered that the Mahāyāna persuasion did originate in the first to second centuries A.D. either in North West India or the Āndhra region, that is during the period the earlier caves were being excavated. There does not appear any obviously Mahāyāna iconography, be it of

Bodhisattvas or even the extensive use of Buddha images in the early caves in Western India.

The caves excavated in Western India that are to be studied here, then are defined as being excavated before the fourth century A.D. and judging from their iconography, prior to the introduction of the Mahāyāna persuasion to Western India. In architectural terms, all the caves display remarkable similarities. The basic vihāra and caitya forms predominate. The vihāra has not undergone any elaboration such as the addition of image shrines or interior pillars. Within the period under consideration individual variations, often in the nature of "experimentation", are found in particular caves. An example of such experimentations would be the use of a "blank" caitya window on the facade of caitya six in the Lenyadri site at Junnar. Such individual variations do not alter the basic common architectural forms found in the caves. They do not appear to have any particular developmental or chronological significance.[12] There are however definite trends of architectural development in the caves here under consideration. These architectural developments are beyond the scope of this study.

There exists one division of significance among the caves excavated before the fourth century A.D. Here also an earlier and a later phase of cave excavation is apparent. The earlier phase ends in the early decades of the first century B.C. and the later phase begins in the second half of the first century A.D. This interval is not large and does not appear to me significant in the study of the inscriptions. I will, however, note this division of the caves under consideration into earlier and later phases, when considering the inscriptions, if it appears that any meaningful

chronological developments or variation can be ascertained. This interval between phases of cave excavation would appear to coincide with a period of political upheaval in Western India.[13]

There does appear to exist a definite relationship between the political history of Western India and the excavation of the caves. The analysis of the inscriptions will elucidate the intimate relationship between the ruling dynasties and the Buddhist religious institutions. In general terms, the caves were excavated during the Sātavāhana-Kṣatrapa period. However, this study is not in the nature of a chronological study. The inscriptions from the cave excavations will be considered as a whole and not in terms of any chronological development within the period under consideration. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, relative chronologies are considered adequate.

The problem of Sātavāhana-Kṣatrapa chronology is a vexed one and is closely related to the inscriptions to be considered.[14] Most of the evidence for a precise dating of the Sātavāhanas and Kṣatrapas is to be found in the inscriptions. The problem is essentially one of the synchronism of regnal years contained in the inscriptions with the known dates of other contemporary rulers, particularly, for example, of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman.[15]

The first phase of Sātavāhana rule covers the first half of the first century B.C. Three rulers are known from this period. The first and third, Simuka and Sātakarṇi I, are known from the royal inscription from Nanaghat.[16] The second ruler, Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa), is known from an early inscription from the Nasik caves.[17] The provenance of these inscriptions must surely indicate that the Sātavāhana dynasty is of Western Indian origin. It has sometimes

been maintained that their original homeland is to be found in the Andhra delta region.[18] This view is based on the ascription of the Sātavāhanas as Āndhrabhṛtya in the Purāṇas.[19] This later Puranic lore most likely refers to the later phases of Sātavāhana rule in the Andhra delta region.

For over a hundred years, that is the latter half of the first century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.D., historical knowledge of Western India is very obscure and must be based on Puranic accounts. This is the period of the incursion of nomadic Śaka peoples throughout Western and North Western India. Indeed the first personality that emerges again in Western India is that of Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa. Nahapāna belonged to one line of such Kṣatrapa rulers, the other line being of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman, the Kārdamakas, who belong to the second century A.D. The word kṣatrapa itself implies the position of a subject prince. The overlord power in these examples probably being that of the Kuṣānas, the contemporary foreign dynasty which had recently been established in North Western India. Nahapāna's rule, perhaps centered more to the north of the region under consideration, did extend over the area of the caves. The inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law Uṣavadāta (Sanskrit, Ṛṣabhadatta), perhaps Nahapāna's local lord, are to be found at the caves at Nasik[20], at Karle[21] in addition to an inscription of the minister of Nahapāna found at the caves at Junnar.[22]

The Sātavāhana dynasty was restored in the area of the caves under consideration by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, an event which must have occurred not long after A.D. 100. An inscription from Nasik in the time of Pulumāvi, the successor to Gautamīputra, by Bālaśrī,

the mother of Gautamīputra, refers to him as one who,

> ...humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kṣatriyas...
> who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas...
> who entirely destroyed the Khakharata (Kṣaharāta)
> race...him who restored the fame of the Sātavāhana race...[23]

The later Sātavāhanas, starting with Gautamīputra, are well known by their inscriptions from the caves, particularly from the Karle, Nasik and Kanheri caves. The two most important Sātavāhana rulers of the second century A.D. following Gautamīputra are Pulumāvi and Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi.[24] Following Pulumāvi, the Sātavāhanas again came into conflict with the satrapal rulers to the north of their domains. In this case, these satraps were the Kārdamaka line of Rudradāman.[25] Following Yajñaśri Sātakarṇi (ie, after the third quarter of the second century A.D.), the Sātavāhana dynasty entered a period of decline. The names of the later Sātavāhana rulers are known from little else than Puranic sources and the occasional inscriptions and coins.

The third century A.D. appears to be a period of political confusion, similar to the period between the two phases of Sātavāhana rule (first century B.C. to first century A.D). Two rulers of foreign Śaka origin, from the period after Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi, are known from the inscriptions under consideration. These rulers are the Ābhīra Īśvarasena known from an inscription from Nasik[26] and one Śakasena known from two inscriptions from Kanheri.[27] Vidya Dehejia places these two rulers in the reign of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi on the basis of palaeographic evidence.[28] It hardly seems likely that two other kings could be ruling at the same time and same places as Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi. These two kings appear to likely belong to the period after Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi and

probably to the third century A.D. when the language of these inscriptions is considered. Both these two kings, Īśvarasena and Śakasena, appear to be of Śaka origin, similar to that of the Kṣatrapa rulers.[29] The name Śakasena would in itself indicate this. It is also not beyond belief that these two rulers were related or were of the same Ābhīra dynasty, as both are styled 'Māḍharīputra'.

The language and palaeography of the inscriptions thus also aid in defining the period under consideration. The inscriptions from the caves excavated in the third century A.D. and before share important similarities in their language and palaeography. This is not to say that no important changes occurred in alphabet and language over a period of over four centuries. Vidya Dehejia maintains that the palaeographic evidence of the inscriptions is essential in determining the chronology of the caves.[30] This is certainly true when lacking other evidence or any specific internal evidence from the inscriptions themselves. It has also been maintained that the language of the inscriptions can be analyzed historically.[31] It is not the purpose of this study, however, to present a detailed account of the development of the alphabet and linguistic characteristics of the inscriptions under consideration. It is enough to know the general palaeographic and linguistic characteristics of the inscriptions here considered. This is particularly important in the selection of inscriptions to be studied. It is possible, for example, that an inscription of a later period can be added to a continuously occupied site. Those palaeographic and linguistic characteristics which can generally identify an inscription as early or late within the

period under consideration, when lacking other evidence, are also of some importance.

The alphabet of the inscriptions is in all cases Brāhmī. Two phases of writing styles are apparent from the cave inscriptions. The former phase is a continuation of Aśokan Brāhmī in regional styles.[32] The latter phase, according to Dani, dates in its fully developed state from after A.D. 50 when it was introduced by the Śakas and spread from Mathura.[33] This later phase of Brāhmī is characterized by two essential features. The first is the equalization of the verticals. The second is the use of serif-like heads on the letters. This was due to the reed pen, a,

> ...broad or edged pen, the use of which is noticable clearly in the drawing of the verticals, which begin with a thick top and gradually thin downwards...[34]

The change of the one form of writing to another is gradual, with the examples of the earlier form of writing, in many ways, anticipating the new phase of writing. Such an inscription would therefore be placed immediately prior to the full acceptance of the new style of writing.[35]

The division of the Brāhmī script used in the cave inscriptions is of great importance in the division of the caves and of the Sātavāhana dynasty into earlier and later phases. Lacking any internal evidence or outside synchronisms, palaeography has been particularly used to determine the dates of those caves whose inscriptions display use of the regional Aśokan Brāhmī style. The dates of the early Sātavāhana rulers are also determined in like manner as these rulers are known only from inscriptions in this style. The dates which Dani would place on these inscriptions are

from fifty to a hundred years later than those that have been previously mentioned in this study. He would therefore place the early Sātavāhana phase in the first half of the first century A.D.[36] This chronology would considerably shorten the interval between the two phases of Sātavāhana rule and cave excavation, if not make then contiguous. The chronology Dani deduces for the Sātavāhana from Gautamīputra agrees with the chronology adopted in this study.[37] Here however, palaeographic dating is limited by outside historical synchronisms. This is not so obviously the case with the earlier inscriptions. Dani assigns the completion of the introduction of the reed pen to after the first half of the first century A.D. and therefore puts the early inscriptions in the period immediately preceeding this, that is, from 0 to A.D. 50. The arguments of Vidya Dehejia that the introduction of the reed pen can be considerably pushed back in time appears to be likely. Other historical arguments would also indicate the earlier datings previously maintained.[38]

The language of the inscriptions is in most cases Prakrit. This Prakrit is that described as Māhārāṣṭrī by the later Prakrit grammarians.[39] The Prakrit of the inscriptions, however, is in the formative stage when compared to later literary Prakrit, for,

> ...it is only in SOME RESPECTS that the distinguishing characteristics of later literary Prakrits are based on the tendential innovations introduced in the earlier inscriptional Prakrits...the literary Prakrits mark a definitely later stage over the one reached at the end of inscriptional Prakrits in the development of the Middle Indo-Aryan languages.[40]

The Prakrit of the inscriptions does undergo a definite linguistic development. It is, however, beyond the purpose of this study to enter into a detailed account of the linguistic development of inscriptional Prakrits.

There is one development, the Sanskritization of the inscriptional Prakrits, which is important when determining the inscriptions to be considered in this study. The inscriptions of the later phase of cave excavations, the so called 'Mahāyāna' phase, are in Sanskrit as are most inscriptions in India dating after the fifth century A.D. Inscriptions in pure Sanskrit have therefore been omitted from this study, except in certain exceptional cases where internal evidence assigns them to an earlier date. Most of the Sanskrit inscriptions found in the caves can be assigned to the later period of cave excavation on internal evidence and by virtue of their locations. There is, however, a body of inscriptions which Luders has described as being of 'mixed dialect'. That is, whereas the inscriptions are Prakrit, considerable elements of Sanskritic orthography and morphology can be seen. Most of the inscriptions are of a date late in the period under consideration, many appearing to date to the third century A.D. An example of these inscriptions of 'mixed dialect' is the Nasik inscription of the Ābhīra Īśvarasena.[41] The genetive singülar termination regularly used here is the Sanskritic SYA in preference to the Prakrit SA, (ie, <u>ŚivadattābhīraputraSYA</u>, the son of the Ābhīra Śivadatta, line 1). The Prakrit orthography is retained in the compound <u>Bhikhusaghasya</u>, 'the community of monks' (line 8), in preference to the Sanskritic <u>Bhikkhusaṅghasya</u>. Again here, however, the Sanskritic genetive singular termination SYA is used. The inscriptions of 'mixed dialect' represent, in the caves of Western India, the increasing use of Sanskrit in inscriptional records throughout India from the end and immediately after the period under consideration.

The scholarly interest in the inscriptions from the caves of

Western India dates to the early decades of the nineteenth century. The inscriptions attracted the attention of the great pioneer of India epigraphy, James Prinsep. After the pioneering work of scholars such as Stevenson and West, the first nearly comprehensive collection of the inscriptions and their translations appeared in a work by Bhagwanlal Indraji and James Burgess.[42] This work was revised and enlarged by Burgess and G. Buhler in 1883 in volume four of the Archaeological Survey of Western India.[43] The next major works on the inscriptions are by E. Senart in the 1902-03 and 1905-06 numbers of Epigraphia Indica, where the Karle and Nasik inscriptions were re-read and translated.[44] The inscriptions were brought together by Luders and included in his list of Brahmī inscriptions.[45] The readings recorded by Luders, his translation and bibliographic information, closes the initial stage of reading and translation of the inscriptions. Thereafter, occasional inscriptions are to be found in Epigraphia Indica and other publications as the inscriptions were found.[46] It should be noted that several inscriptions, particularly from Kanheri, are yet to be found translated in any published source.[47]

Following the initial reading and translation of the inscriptions, scholarly interest focused on the historical and social information contained in the inscriptions. In terms of historical information, the inscriptions are, in addition to coins, the major, if somewhat limited, source materials for the political history of the Sātavāhana-Kṣatrapa period. The political information contained in the inscriptions is important because of its uniqueness, though as has been previously mentioned, the chronologies deduced from the inscriptions are problematic. This political information which

has been gleaned from inscriptions, in addition to evidence from coins and occasional outside sources has been largely incorporated into the standard histories of ancient India and as such, provides the essential historical framework for this study.[48]

The social data provided by the inscriptions has been largely used to provide a description of the contemporary ancient Indian society. One of the first scholars to use the inscriptions to this end, stated in 1919 that,

> The inscriptions which throw light on this history [the political history of the Deccan during the Śātavāhana period] throw light on the religious, social and economic condition of Maharashtra.[49]

On several occasions the specific social information contained in the inscriptions has been incorporated into general expositions of the ancient society.[50] Often it has been used to confirm the existence, from a historical source, of persons, occupations and organizations known from the theoretical Sanskrit literature. The inscriptions have been used, for example, to confirm the existence of guild organizations.[51] The inscriptions, together with others from throughout India, have also had a prominent part in determining the spatial distribution of the schools of Hīnayāna Buddhism.[52]

While in recent years the significance of the data contained in the inscriptions for the understanding of the Buddhist religious institution has been noted, the relation has not, however, been meaningfuly developed. The inscriptions have been used only for an exposition of those people and organizations which supported the cave excavations. Certain obvious implications concerning the support and maintenance of the Buddhist religious institution

have been stated, but only in the most general manner.[53] No attempt has yet been made to utilize all the inscriptions from a closely related set of sites as those of the early cave excavations of Western India. All available inscriptions from the early cave excavations will be considered in this study. Further, no attempt has been made to analyze a clearly defined corpus of inscriptions in terms of the original purpose of their record, the support and maintenance of the religious institution represented by the sites where the inscriptions are found. In this study, the types of donations recorded by the inscriptions will be identified and detailed at each site. The types of donors and their donations will also be fully considered. No attempt has hitherto been made to distinguish between any general trends indicated by the inscriptions over all the sites and any specific developments at a particular site. That is, to detail the differences, as indicated by the inscriptions, between sites otherwise closely related. In this study, special consideration will be given to the types of donors and donations in relation to the spatial distribution of the sites throughout Western India. The specific characteristics of particular sites which arise from this analysis will be examined in relation to the known contemporary economic and political history of Western India.

The inscriptions from the cave excavations of Western India are not a complete description of the contemporary society. They are, at best, descriptive of certain limited elements of that society. It is the relation of these limited elements of society to the Buddhist religious institution, in the general context of the contemporary society, which will be here considered. The

primary concern of this study, however, will be the religious institution, for it is in fact what the corpus of inscriptions describe.

[1]James Fergusson and James Burgess, The Cave Temples of India (London, 1880), chapters one to seven. This volume, the first of its kind on the subject, is still the fundamental work on the cave excavations.

[2]The Imperial Gazeteer of India, New Edition, vol. 8 (Oxford, 1908), pp. 272-273.

[3]Ibid., p. 270.

[4]Ibid., p. 268.

[5]Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India (London, 1962), pp. 114-117; for the expansion of Buddhism into Western India, see also pp. 118-125.

[6]Balkrishna Govind Gokhale, "Theravāda Buddhism in Western India," Journal of the American Oriental Society vol. 92 (1972), pp. 230-233; where he cogently argues, from literary evidence, that Buddhism was introduced into Western India in a period before Aśoka. Such an assertion would not change the thrust of the argument here.

[7]Shantaram Balchandra Deo and Jagat Pati Joshi, Pauni Excavation (1969-70) (Nagpur, 1972).

[8]Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, vol. one (Bombay, 1971), pp. 5-6, plates 1,3,4.

[9]Excavations may have likely continued at Kanheri during the third and even the fourth centuries A.D. The chronology of Kanheri is obscure and no published authority yet exists on this important site.

[10]See for example, Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit., p. 297.

[11]Sammuel Beal, trans., Si Yu Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World (London, 1906), vol. 2, pp. 254, 257.

[12]Vidya Dehejia, Early Buddhist Rock Temples (London, 1972), pp. 75-76, 113, see also table 10, pp. 206-207.

[13]Ibid., pp. 21-22, 148; see also table 2, pp. 208-209. The dating accepted in this study, except where noted, is as set forward in this most recent chronological study.

[14]For differing chronological interpretations see for example, Dehejia, op. cit., pp. 1-30; G. Venket Rao, "The Pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavāhana Periods," Part 2 in G. Yazdani, ed., The Early History of the Deccan (Oxford, 1960), who argues for an early establishment of the Sātavāhana dynasty, 271 B.C., and an early beginning to the second phase of Sātavāhana rule (Gautamīputra, A.D. 62-86) based mainly on Puranic evidence. Compare with D.C. Sircar, "The Sātavāhanas and the Chedis," chapter 13 in R.C. Majumdar, ed., The Age of

Imperial Unity (Bombay, 1960), who argues for a later chronology, (start of Sātavāhana rule, 30 B.C., Gautamīputra, A.D. 106-130). The chronology of Dehejia appears the most plausible, (start of Sātavāhana rule, 120 B.C., Gautamīputra, A.D. 86-110).

[15]see Dehejia, op. cit., p. 26.

[16]James Burgess, "Report on the Elura Cave Temples and the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves in Western India," Archaeological Survey of Western India, volume 5 (London, 1883), pp. 59-74 by G. Buhler. See also H. Luders, "A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions," appendix to Epigraphia Indica, volume 10 (1909-1910), nos. 1112-1120. Hereafter referred to as 'Luders no.'.

[17]Luders no. 1144.

[18]G. Venket Rao, op. cit., chapter 2. The arguments for the two views have been fully summarized here.

[19]Āndhrabhṛtya could mean either, those who are to be maintained or nourished in Andhra or those who are to be maintained or nourished by the Andhras, ie, the servants or dependents of the Andhras.

[20]Luders nos. 1131-1135.

[21]Luders nos. 1097, 1099.

[22]Luders no. 1174.

[23]Luders no. 1123, translation by G. Buhler in James Burgess, "Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions," Archaeological Survey of Western India, volume 4 (London, 1883), p. 109. For Gautamīputra see also Luders nos. 1125, 1126 from Nasik.

[24]For inscriptions of Pulumāvi or those dated in his reign see Luders nos. 1100, 1106, Karle; 1122, 1123, 1124, 1147, Nasik. For Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi see Luders nos. 987, 1024, Kanheri; 1146, Nasik.

[25]Rudradāman states in an inscription from Girnar that he twice defeated Sātakarṇi, Lord of the Deccan, but did not destroy him on account of their "not too distant relationship". See F. Kielhorn, "Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman; the Year 72," Epigraphia Indica, volume 8 (1905-06), pp. 36-49.

The chronological problem here, of course, is which Sātavāhana ruler is meant by Sātakarṇi. One inscription from Kanheri, Luders no. 994, states that the queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Siri Sātakarṇi (a short reigned successor to Pulumāvi) was the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Ru..., undoubtably Rudradāman. It is very much tempting to equate this Vāsiṣṭhīputra Siri Sātakarṇi with the Sātakarṇi of Rudradāman's record from Girnar. This would make Vāsiṣṭhīputra Siri Sātakarṇi's reign fall around A.D. 150 as

the year 72 of Rudradāman's inscription is usually thought to belong to the Śaka of A.D. 78. Dehejia argues that the Sātakarṇi referred to by Rudradāman is Śivaskandha Sātakarṇi another short reigned Sātavāhana ruler who apparently followed Vāsiṣṭhīputra Siri Sātakarṇi, see Dehejia, op. cit., pp. 26-27. Again, such chronological problems do not materially affect this study.

26Luders no. 1137.

27Luders nos. 1001, 1002.

28Dehejia, op. cit., p. 69, table 2, pp. 208-209.

29See D.C. Sircar, "The Deccan after the Sātavāhanas," chapter 14 in R.C. Majumdar, The Age of Imperial Unity (Bombay, 1951), pp. 221-223.

30Dehejia, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

31Madhukar Anant Mehendale, Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits (Poona, 1948), p. 46.

32Ahmad Hasan Dani, Indian Palaeography (Oxford, 1963), pp. 50-51.

33Ibid., p. 51.

34Ibid., p. 52.

35Ibid., p. 67, where Dani sees examples of imitation of the reed from Nanaghat.

36Ibid., pp. 65-68.

37Ibid., pp. 93-97.

38Dehejia, op. cit., pp. 38-39. Particularly convincing is the example of the inscription from Bharut which, on internal evidence, is from the reign of the Śuṅgas. Dani dates this inscription also in the first half of the first century A.D., whereas the Śuṅgas are by common consensus thought to have ruled only to circa 70 B.C., see Dehejia, op. cit., p. 36.

39Mehendale, op. cit., p. xxviii.

40Ibid., p. xxxv.

41Luders no. 1137.

42James Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji, Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India (Bombay, 1881).

43James Burgess, "Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions,"; Volume 5 of the Archaeological Survey of Western

India, for the inscriptions from Kanheri.

[44] E. Senart, "The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle," Epigraphia Indica volume 7 (1902-03), pp. 47-74. "The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik," Epigraphia Indica volume 8 (1905-06), pp. 59-96.

[45] Luders, op. cit.

[46] See particularly, for example, M.S. Vats, "Unpublished Votive Inscriptions in the Chaitya Cave at Karle," Epigraphia Indica volume 14 (1925-26), pp. 325-329.

[47] The sense of these unread inscriptions from Kanheri has been obtained from M. Dikshit, "The Origin and Development of the Buddhist Settlements of Western India," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bombay, 1942).

[48] For the use of the inscriptions for political history see for example, R.G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan (Bombay, 1895); D.R. Bhandarkar, "Dekkan of the Satavahana Period, pt. 1," The Indian Antiquary volume 47 (1918), pp. 69-78; V. Smith, Early History of India (Oxford, 1924); D.C. Sircar in The Age of Imperial Unity; G. Venket Rao in The Early History of the Deccan; and Dehejia, op. cit.

The major work on coins of the period remains, E.J. Rapson, Catalogue of the Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty (London, 1908).

The major outside source with important references for political history is a classical European mariners' guide, the Periplus Maris Erythraei in R.C. Majumdar, Classical Accounts of India (Calcutta, 1960), pp. 288-312.

[49] D.R. Bhandarkar, "Dekkan of the Śātavāhana Period, pt. 2," The Indian Antiquary volume 48 (1919), p. 77.

[50] See for example Ibid., G. Venket Rao, "Cultural Condition under the Sātavāhanas," in Early History of the Deccan, pp. 131-147. Dipakranjan Das, Economic History of the Deccan (Delhi, 1969)

[51] R.C. Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India (Calcutta, 1922), pp. 34-36.

[52] A. Bareau, Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule (Paris, 1955), p. 36.

[53] See Dehejia, op. cit., pp. 135-147; B.G. Gokhale, op. cit, pp. 235-236, where Gokhale presents a brief, "...analysis of the social and economic composition of the donors mentioned in the inscriptions..." in percentage terms. While this analysis is the first of its kind, Gokhale does not adequately define his corpus of inscriptions. The results he presents are sketchy and of limited value. See also Romila Thapar, A History of India (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 110-112.

CHAPTER TWO. THE CAVE SITES AND THEIR INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions from sixteen sites will be considered in this study. These sixteen sites form six groups of cave excavations of one or more sites, based primarily on geographical considerations of the sites' locations. From north to south these six groups of cave excavations are:

I. The caves at Pitalkhora and the early excavations at Ajanta, both located on the Deccan plateau in the interior of present day Maharashtra.

II. The caves near the town of Nasik.

III. The caves surrounding the town of Junnar.

IV. The Kanheri caves on Salsette Island in present day Bombay.

V. The Karle caves and five other sites located in the region of the Bor ghāṭ (pass).

VI. A southern group consisting of the caves at Kuda and four other sites located in the coastal Konkan or across the nearby ghāṭs.[1]

Map One (page 41) shows the location of these cave sites in the context of peninsular India. Within these six groupings there exist several other cave excavations than the sixteen to be here considered. These excavations do not, however, contain any published inscriptions. These excavations will be noted in the context of the six established groups.

The first group of cave excavations are located significantly more inland than the other cave sites to be considered. Both the Ajanta and Pitalkhora caves are located in the Indhyadri hills which divide that part of the Deccan drained by the Krishna-Godavari

river system with that part drained by the Tapti, that is Khandesh. The caves are located close to the modern day Bombay-Nasik-Calcutta railroad.

The Ajanta caves, better known for their later, Mahāyāna excavations, also contain some three excavations which can be attributed to the early period under consideration. Two caityas and a small adjacent vihāra are to be found at Ajanta. The less well known caves at Pitalkhora are located about fifty miles to the west of Ajanta. There are thirteen caves excavated on either side of a ravine at Pitalkhora. The major site contains one caitya and eight vihāras. The recently discovered smaller site at Pitalkhora contains four small caityas only. The published inscriptions from Pitalkhora are found at the first mentioned major site.[2] One caitya in the caves located on a hill outside of modern Aurangabad belongs to the period under consideration and should be included in this first, interior group of caves. The other caves at Aurangabad belong to the later Mahāyāna phase of cave excavation. No inscriptions have been discovered in this early caitya at Aurangabad.

The Pitalkhora caves contain eleven published inscriptions.[3] One of these inscriptions, Luders no. 1190, is very fragmentary but does contain meaningful information, it mentions a royal physician. This is understandable in the context of the other inscriptions. The caves and inscriptions at Pitalkhora date to the early phase of the period under consideration, that is the first century B.C.[4]

The early caves at Ajanta contain five published inscriptions from the period under consideration.[5] The three incised inscriptions all provide some meaningul information. The two painted inscriptions

at Ajanta are Luders no. 1199 and Dhavalikar no. 2. One of these inscriptions, Luders no. 1199, is fragmentary and its sense is not clear. These two painted inscriptions are the only two examples in this study where inscriptions are not incised. The fragments of painting found in many sites to be considered would appear to indicate that such painted inscriptions might have been once much more prevalent throughout Western India than is the case today. The inscriptions at Ajanta are early, being roughly contemporary with those from Pitalkhora.

The Nasik caves are located five miles south south-west of the ancient city of the same name located on the Godavari river. Map Two (page 42) details the exact location of this site. The caves are located on the north-east face of a hill which rises prominently from the surrounding countryside. This hill is located beside the modern Bombay road and not far from the main line of the Central Railway. Both these routes pass through passes of gentle incline which lead to Bombay via Kalyan.

The Nasik caves consist of one caitya and over twenty vihāras. The majority of the cave date to the period under consideration. There is, however, a cave which belongs to the later, Mahāyāna, phase of excavation. Some of the earlier vihāras were also modified in this later period with the addition of sculpture of Mahāyāna iconography. The excavation of the Nasik caves dates to the earliest phase of Sātavāhana rule as indicated by an inscription of Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa) found in the small vihāra no. 19.[6] The construction of the caitya appears to have been first started in the middle of the first century B.C. and to have been completed in the first half of the first century A.D. Several large, regular quadrangular

vihāras which date to the later part of the first and to the second centuries A.D. are to be found at the Nasik caves. These *vihāras* contain several of the most important inscriptions of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas and of the Sātavāhanas.[7]

Twenty-eight published inscriptions are to be found at the Nasik caves. While some of these inscriptions are fragmentary, notably Luders nos. 1122, 1135, 1136 and 1143, all provide some meaningful information. Two of the inscriptions at Nasik are of a mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit orthography, that which is characterized by Luders as "mixed dialect".[8] Both these inscriptions, being records of Uṣavadāta, belong to the period under consideration. One of these inscriptions, Luders no. 1136, is a fragmentary record concerned with donations to Brahmans. It appears that this inscription is a continuation of an inscription of Uṣavadāta, Luders no. 1135. These two inscriptions should therefore be taken together as one.[9]

The cave excavations at Junnar are located at six separate sites surrounding the ancient town of Junnar. One site is located on each of the Tulja, Shivneri and Lenyadri hills. Three sites are located on the Manmodi hill. A seventh set of caves are located at Nanaghat some eighteen miles west of Junnar.[10] Map Three (page 43) details the precise locations of these cave sites. The caves at Nanaghat take their name from the pass which connects the town of Junnar with coastal Kalyan. A modern road traverses what is a most ancient route. The Nanaghat caves are located at the edge of the pass, the 1000 ft. contour on Map Three indicating the steep escarpment. The inscriptions from the Nanaghat caves are extremely important for the chronology of the early Sātavāhanas, as has been noted in the previous chapter. The caves themselves are not of Buddhist excavation, therefore their

inscriptions have been excluded from this study.

The Tulja group of caves, west of Junnar, consists of a single caitya, two vihāras and several individual cells. The caitya is notable in that it is circular, such caityas apparently being an early development in Western India. No inscriptions are extant from the Tulja group of caves.

Over thirty separate excavations are to be found in the Lenyadri caves, to the north of Junnar. This group of caves includes two caityas, one of which has a blind caitya arch window. This feature, found three times at Junnar, is unique to the Junnar caves. The Lenyadri caves also contain one large quadrangular vihāra and a number of smaller irregular vihāras, individual cells and cisterns. Six inscriptions are known from the Lenyadri caves.[11] This group of cave excavations belongs to the later part of the period under consideration, probably to the second century A.D.

The Shivneri group of caves are located south-west of the town of Junnar. Two caityas, four substantial vihāras and numerous open halls, individual cells and cisterns to a total of ninety separate excavations are found at this site. Nine inscriptions are known from the Shivneri group of caves.[12] These caves are roughly contemporary with the Lenyadri group.

Three separate sites are located on the Manmodi hill, a mile south of the town of Junnar. Proceeding from east to west, the first site encountered is that known as the Bhima Shankar. This site consists of an unfinished caitya with a blind caitya arch and some six vihāras. Three inscriptions are known from this site.[13] One of these inscriptions, Luders no. 1174, is of Ayama, minister to Nahapāna.

This site then dates to before A.D. 100. The second site on the Manmodi hill, the Amba/Ambika caves, consists of one unfinished caitya and six vihāras. Fourteen inscriptions are known from this site.[14] Eleven of these inscriptions, Luders nos. 1158-1168, are found on the caitya. The Amba/Ambika site is again late in the period under consideration, dating to after A.D. 100. The third and most easterly site on the Manmodi hill is that known as the Budh Lena. Here again is an unfinished caitya with a blind arch peculiar to Junnar. Some small irregular vihāras and individual cells are also to be found at this site. One inscription is known from this site.[15] The Budh Lena caves appear to be contemporary with the Bhima Shankar caves on the same Manmodi hill, that is dating to at least A.D. 100.

Out of the thirty-four inscriptions located at five of the six cave sites surrounding, thirty provide meaningful information. Three inscriptions have not been read.[16] These inscriptions are in clearly cut Brāhmī letters, but yield no clear sense upon reading. One other inscription, Luders no. 1168, appears to record various donations, but is far too fragmentary to offer any details.

The Kanheri caves are located in the interior of Salsette Island, present day Bombay, near to the modern suburb of Borivali. Over one hundred separate excavation are located on two adjacent hills.[17] Kanheri, Sanskrit Kṛṣṇagiri, means black mountain (cf. Kaṇhasela, Sanskrit Kṛṣṇaśaila of the inscriptions).[18] Kanheri is the cave site which appears to have been longest occupied in Western India, with inscriptions dating past A.D. 1000. The earliest caves, dating to the period under consideration, begin

at the base of the main hill, surrounding the two caityas at the site, the largest of which is an early excavation. Many of the vihāras at the site containing early inscriptions were altered at a later date with the addition of sculpture having Mahāyāna iconography. Kanheri is a late site in the period under consideration with most excavation dating to the second century A.D. The caitya at Kanheri, for example, dates to the late second century A.D., as it contains an inscription dated in the reign of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi.[19]

One other site on Salsette island, Kondvite, is to be grouped with Kanheri. This site, consisting of one caitya and several vihāras and individual cells located eight miles south of Kanheri, is an early excavation in the period under consideration. No early inscriptions are found at Kondvite.

Forty-three inscriptions from Kanheri can be attributed to the period under consideration. The selection of the inscriptions to be used in this study is at times problematic. Excavation at this site started late in the period under consideration and continued to at least A.D. 600. The division between the early phase and the later Mahāyāna phase of excavation is not as distinct as in other sites. Further, no complete chronological study of the caves and their inscriptions has yet been published. Luders enumerates fifty-one inscriptions from Kanheri.[20] Of these inscriptions, nine can clearly be attributed to the later Mahāyāna phase on the basis of their language, form and content and have been excluded from this study.[21] One unpublished inscription has been included in this study.[22] Six of the forty-three inscriptions are fragmentary and convey little, if any meaningful information.[23]

Nineteen of the Kanheri inscriptions are listed by Luders as not read. The sense of these inscriptions has been obtained.[24] Ten of these previously unread inscriptions have been used in this study, whereas four are late and five are fragmentary.

Six cave sites are included in the fifth group of cave excavations to be considered in this study. These six sites are all located close to the modern day Bombay to Poona railway which passes through the Bor ghāṭ. Map Four (page 44) details the exact locations of these six sites. Four of the sites; Karle, Bhaja, Bedsa and Selarvadi, are located on the upland side of the pass. Two sites; Kondane and Ambivale, are located on the seaward side of the pass. The thousand foot contour on Map Four represents the steep escarpment of the Deccan plateau.

The Karle caves are the most important of the six sites here considered, as they are by far the most extensive of the excavations and contain the majority of the inscriptions in this group. The Karle caves have one caitya, an excavation often considered the most fully developed rock-cut caitya in Western India. At least five vihāras and several individual cells are to be found at Karle. Several unfinished vihāras and individual cells are also to be found in the hills in the vicinity of Karle.[25] The Karle caves appear to be contemporary with later Nasik, much of Junnar and to be somewhat earlier than Kanheri. The caves then date from the late first century A.D. Inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law Uṣavadāta and of the Sātavāhana Pulumāvi are found at Karle.[26]

The caves at Bhaja are located on the side of a hill directly across the valley from Karle. This site consists of one caitya and over fifteen small vihāras. One small circular caitya and an

unfinished vihāra have recently been discovered near Bhaja.[27] The architectural evidence of the caitya at Bhaja would suggest that this is a very ancient site, probably dating to at least the early first century B.C.

On the opposite side of the hill on which Bhaja is situated and facing a valley adjoining to that one in which Karle and Bhaja are located are the Bedsa caves. This site consists of one small caitya and one unique apsidal vihāra. On the basis of architectural and palaeographic evidence, Bedsa belongs to the early phase of cave excavation in the period under consideration, although it is somewhat later than Bhaja.

The caves at Selarvadi are located on a hill at the places where the valleys in which Karle and Bedsa are located meet. One main vihāra and some small individual cells are found at this site. The Selarvadi caves are late in the period under consideration.

The caves on the seaward side of the Bor ghaṭ are located north-east of modern Karjat on the Bombay to Poona railroad. The Kondane caves, four miles from Karjat, consist of a caitya, three vihāras and a row of nine individual cells. The architectural evidence indicates that this is an early site, contemporary with Bhaja. A single vihāra at Ambivale is located sixteen miles north-east of Karjat. Palaeographic evidence would indicate that this site comes late in the period under consideration.

The six sites in this fifth group of cave excavations account for fifty-nine published inscriptions. Karle contains the majority of these inscriptions, thirty-seven in all.[28] The excavations at Bhaja account for eleven inscriptions.[29] Three inscriptions are found at Bhaja.[30] Two inscriptions are found at Selarvadi.[31] The

Ambivale vihāra accounts for five inscriptions.[32] Two inscriptions remain at Kondane, although here as at Bhaja, the missing facade of the caitya may have contained more inscriptions.[33] Ten of the fifty-nine inscriptions from this group are fragmentary or do not provide any meaningful information. These inscriptions include two from Karle, Luders no. 1086 and Vats no. 13, two from Bhaja, Deshpande nos. 2, 3 and one from Kondane. All five inscriptions from the Ambivale vihāra do not provide any meaningful information. They perhaps record the solitary names of devotees.

The caves at Kuda are the most important of the five sites included in the sixth, southern group of excavations. The Kuda caves are located on the so called Rajapuri creek, a tidal basin, some forty-five miles south of Bombay. Map Five (page 45) details the Kuda region. There are twenty-six excavations at Kuda. Five of these excavations are caityas, one of which is unfinished. Twenty-one vihāra excavations are included at this site, in addition to eleven cisterns. The Kuda caves appear to be contemporary with Karle, that is, they date from the late first century A.D.

Two sites are located near to the ancient town of Mahad situated on the Savitri river on the seaward side of the passes which lead from the Deccan to the coastal Konkan region surrounding Kuda. These two sites which might be considered one site on the model of Junnar are considered separately by most authorities. The main site, known as Mahad, is located north-west of the town of Mahad. This is an extensive site consisting of three caityas and twenty-five vihāras, many of which are unfinished. The other site is that known as Kol, located south-east of Mahad across the Savitri river. Here there are two cave sites consisting of individual

cells. One site is located north-east of the village. The other, where the inscriptions are found, is located south-east of the same village. These sites around Mahad are roughly contemporary with Kuda.

Two other sites, containing a very few inscriptions, have been included in this southern group of excavations. These two sites are somewhat distant from the Kuda-Mahad region and are the only two examples of excavations with inscriptions from among the many cave sites located throughout the southern Konkan and in the adjacent hills of the Deccan. The site of Nadsur is located north-east of Kuda in the passes above the ancient seaport of Chaul. Here are twenty separate excavations.[34] The other site is the isolated excavations of Karadh, located near Satara on the upland passes which lead to Mahad and then to the Kuda region.[35] Karadh is an extensive site with some sixty excavations including three caityas which are roughly contemporary with Kuda.

The sixth group of excavations contains thirty-five inscriptions to be considered in this study. Kuda contains twenty-six of these inscriptions.[36] Two of these inscriptions are fragmentary and one inscription has not been read; thus they have not been used.[37] Three inscriptions are found at Mahad, one of which is fragmentary.[38] Kol contains three inscriptions.[39] Two inscriptions are found at Nadsur and a single inscription comes from Karadh.[40] Thirty-one inscriptions from this sixth group of excavations thus contain meaningful information and can be used in this study.

The corpus of inscriptions used in this study amounts to a total of 216 separate epigraphs. Of this total, 190 or 88.0% provide some meaningful information. Table One at the end of the chapter

details the distribution of the numbers of the inscriptions considered and the percentage actually used from the individual sites and the six established groupings of these sites. The percentage of the inscriptions used in each of the six groups of sites is in all cases above 80%, with an average of 89.9% used. This percentage compares very favourably with the 88.0% of the inscriptions used out of a total of 216 epigraphs. These high percentages of useable inscriptions indicate that the corpus here considered provides a still remarkably complete record. While a significant percentage of the remaining inscriptions from the cave excavations are available for analysis, this does not deny the possibility that some inscriptions may have disappeared in the past two millennia. There probably would have existed more painted inscriptions and also inscriptions on parts of the excavations no longer remaining, as for example on the facades of Bhaja and Kondane. There also exists a very strong possibility that more inscriptions remain to be discovered and read. Nevertheless, with the available data, it is considered that a large enough corpus exists to undertake an analysis of the donors and their donations recorded in the inscriptions from the cave excavations of Western India.

The majority of the inscriptions, 168 or 77.8% of the total corpus, or 84.8% of the inscriptions used, come from five sites, Nasik, Junnar, Kanheri, Karle and Kuda. These five sites are among the largest to be considered in this study. They are also the sites which underwent the most intense architectural elaboration and development. A subjective impression of these sites' high degree of development in addition to their numbers of inscriptions indicates the importance of these excavations for this study. An analysis of

the numerous inscriptions from these five sites will form an important part of the subsequent chapters. At this point, however, the geographical significance of these five sites with their associated sites in addition to Ajanta and Pitalkhora should be considered.

The cave sites are, briefly, located along specific lines of communication between the interior of the Deccan and the coastal Konkan. The coastal sites Kanheri and Kuda can be said in each case to be a terminus of a particular line of communication. The terminology adopted here, 'line of communication', is deliberate. Much has been made, particularly by D.D. Kosambi, of the cave excavations' relationship with 'trade routes'.[41] Trade routes are, however, primarily lines of communication, particular routes between two points or regions. It is not surprising, then, to find the caves and communication routes coincident, for they both took advantage of the topography. In the one case, steep side hills exposed to weathering and excavation and in the other, the associated valley bottoms leading travellers through the Western ghāṭs. The relationship between lines of communication and the cave excavations becomes even more obvious when the importance of town an layman to the Buddhist religious institution is considered, the details of which will be seen from the inscriptions.

The relationship of the cave excavations to established lines of communication can perhaps best be seen from a map of present day Western India (see Map Six, page 46). The cave excavations are located on lines of communication which still lead from the coast, the primary port being Bombay, to the interior of the Deccan and from here to north and north-east India and the eastern Andhra coast.

Nasik, in addition to Pitalkhora and Ajanta are located on a route, today the main line of the Central Railway, which leads from Bombay to north and north-east India. In ancient times the coastal terminus of this route would have been the important ports of Kalyan and also of Sopara, located north of present day Bombay.[42] The Kanheri caves, as will be seen from the inscriptions, had an important close relationship with these ports. The Junnar caves are also located on a route which leads from Kalyan through the Nanaghat pass. A modern road traverses this route, although it has not been suitable for the development of rail traffic. In ancient times this route led to the interior of the Deccan, particularly to Pratiṣṭhāna, modern day Paithan, located on the Godavari river and ancient capital of the Sātavāhanas. The Karle cave excavations and its associated sites are also located on a route which leads to Kalyan. This is the modern day main rail and road route from Bombay to the Hyderbad-Andhra region and also to Madras. In ancient times this route along the Bhima river, joining the Godavari river, would have been the easiest route across peninsular India to the eastern coast. Map One of peninsular India details the relationship of the cave excavations to this trans-peninsular route. The southern group of cave sites also lead, from the western coast, through the passes, to the Deccan and from here to the eastern coast, although in this case via the Krishna river valley. In modern times, because of the dominating position of Bombay, the region of the southern group of cave excavations has not been well developed in terms of road and rail traffic. The inscriptions will indicate that this region was similarly relatively isolated in ancient times.

The cave excavations to be considered in this study are,

therefore, closely connected in terms of geographical position and function. The four sites of Kanheri, Nasik, Junnar and Karle are particularly closely related. The significance of the cave excavations' locations in terms of trade will be considered when analyzing the inscriptions in the subsequent chapters. The sites here considered, then, directly refer to a limited geographical area, the coastal region from Kanheri to Kuda and the traditional routes from the interior to the coast.

TABLE 1. Inscriptions by Sites

group	site	no. of inscr.	group total	% of 216 inscr.	group total	no. used	group total	% used	group total
I	Pitalkhora	11				11		100	
	Ajanta	5	16		7.4	4	15	80	93.3
II	Nasik		28		13.0		28		100.0
III	Junnar		34		15.7		30		88.2
IV	Kanheri		43		19.9		37		86.0
V	Karle	37		17.6		35		94.6	
	Bhaja	11				9		81.8	
	Bedsa	3				3		100.0	
	Selarvadi	2				2		100.0	
	Kondane	2				1		50.0	
	Ambivale	5	60		27.8	-	50	0	83.3
VI	Kuda	26		12.0		23		88.5	
	Mahad	3				2		66.7	
	Kol	3				3		100.0	
	Nadsur	2				2		100.0	
	Karadh	1	35		16.2	1	35	100.0	88.6

Maps - Legend

Railroads........................ ++++

Roads........................... /-

Modern towns and cities........... ○

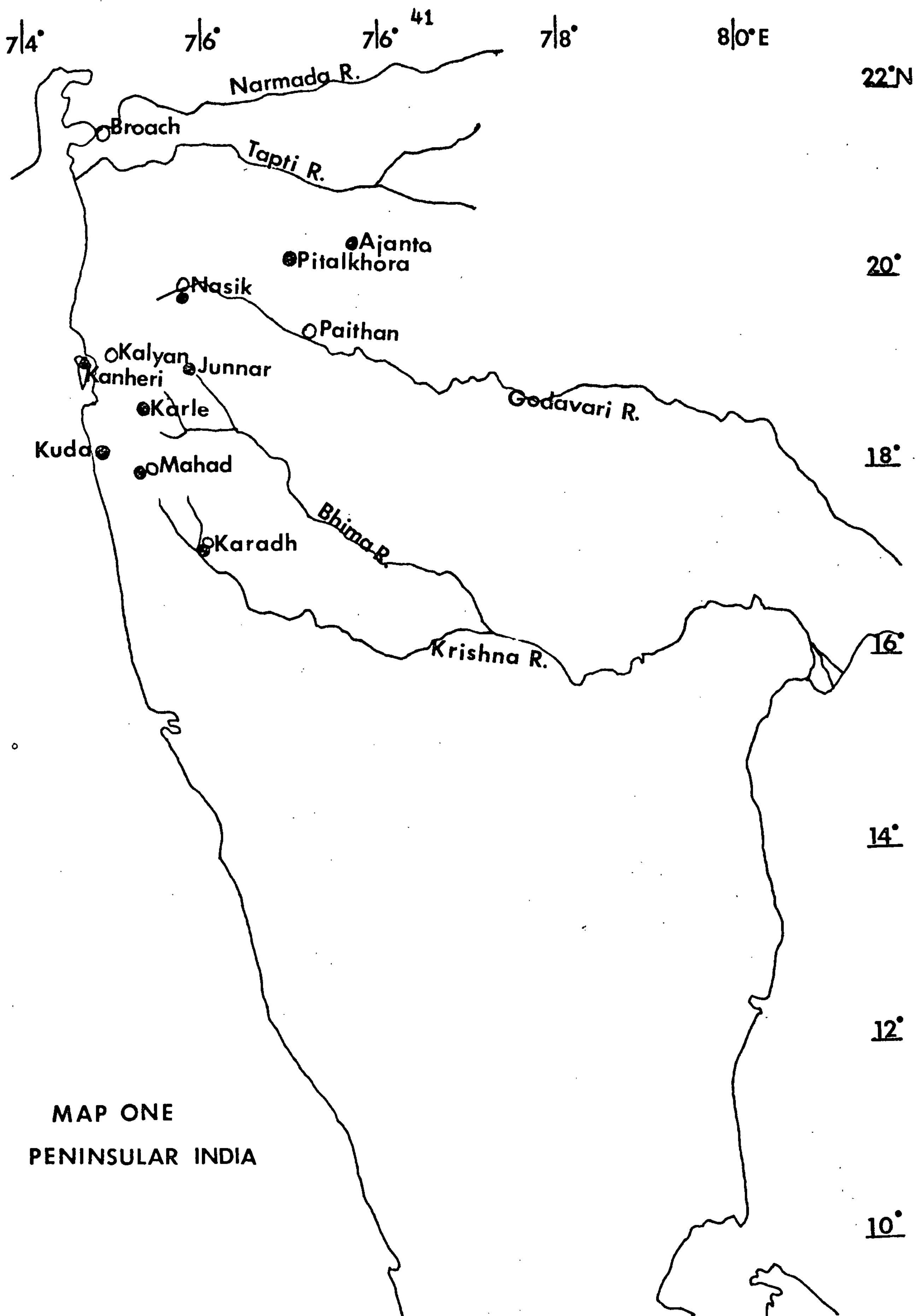
Cave sites........................ ●

Contours in thousand foot intervals.

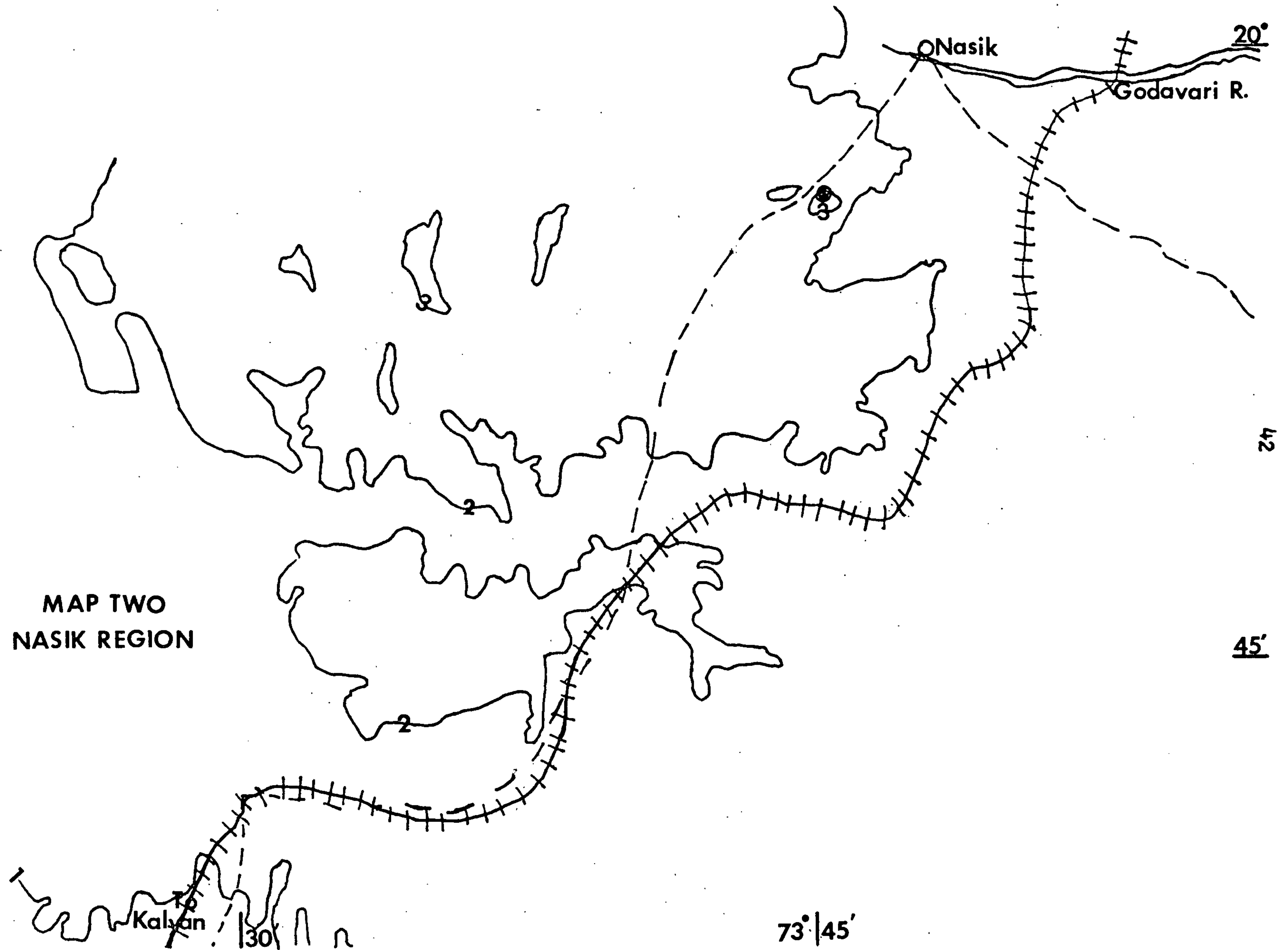
Map One - 1:6,000,000

Maps Two, Three, Four Five - 1:253,440

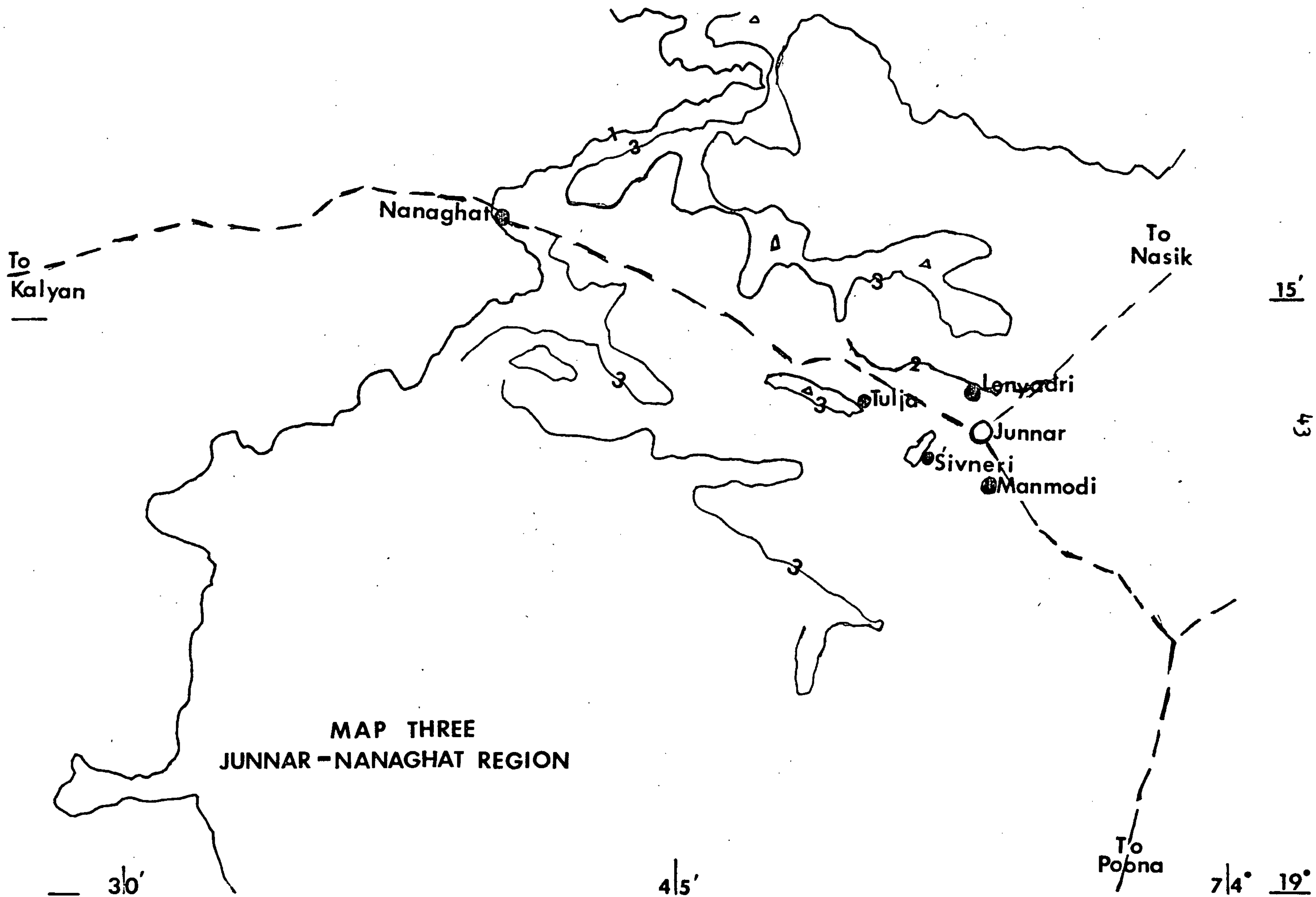
Map Six - 1:1,000,000



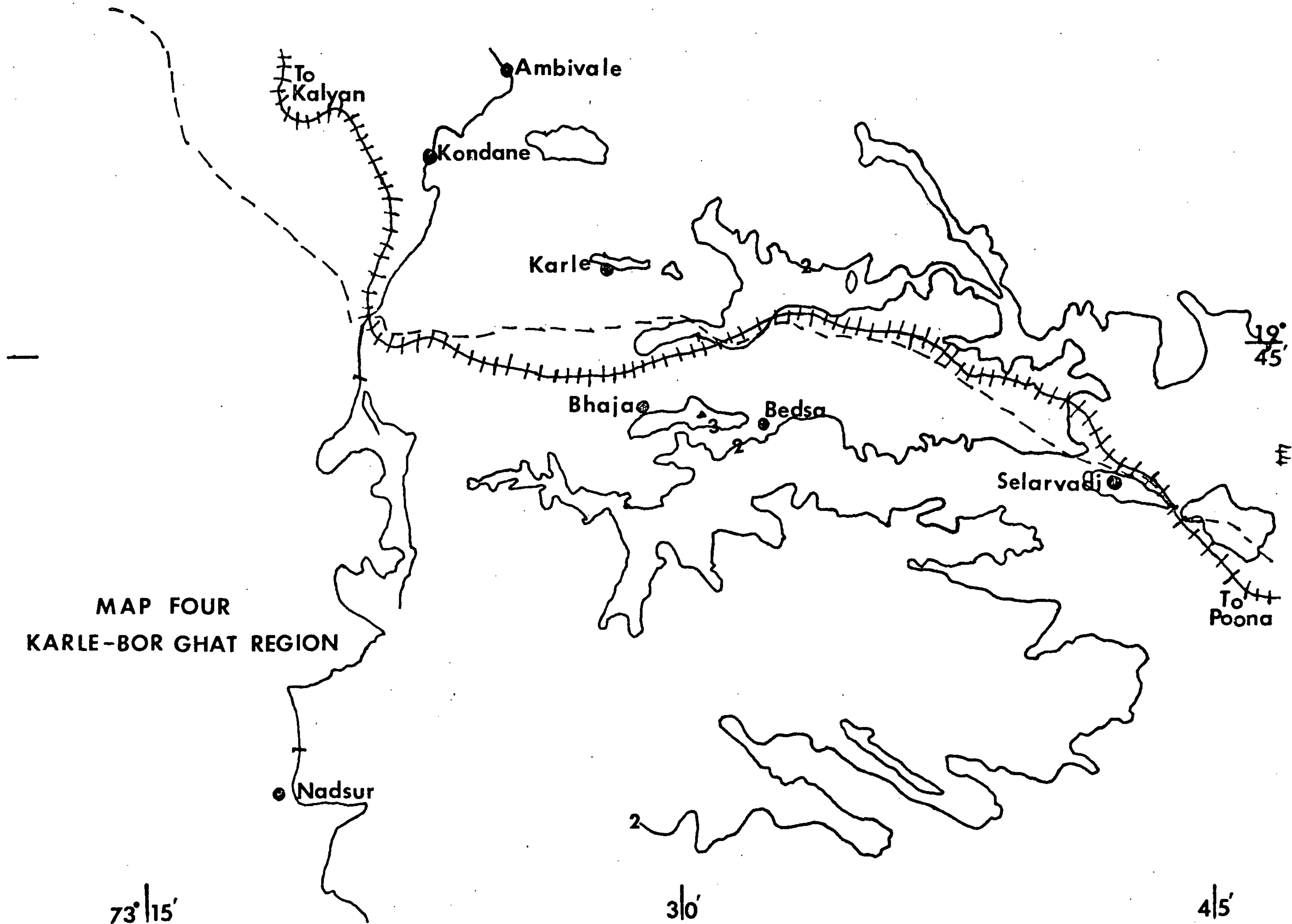
MAP ONE
PENINSULAR INDIA

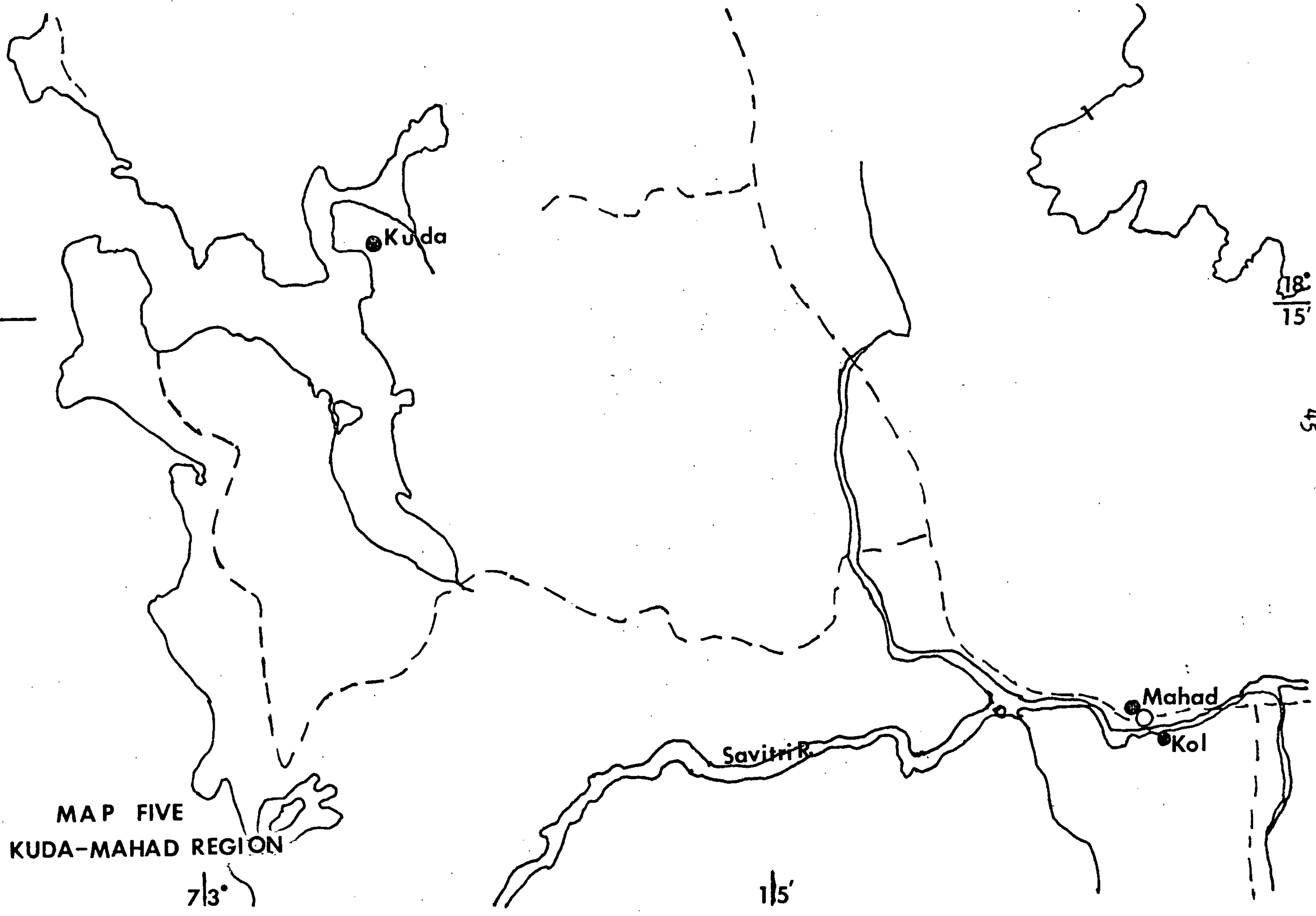


MAP TWO
NASIK REGION

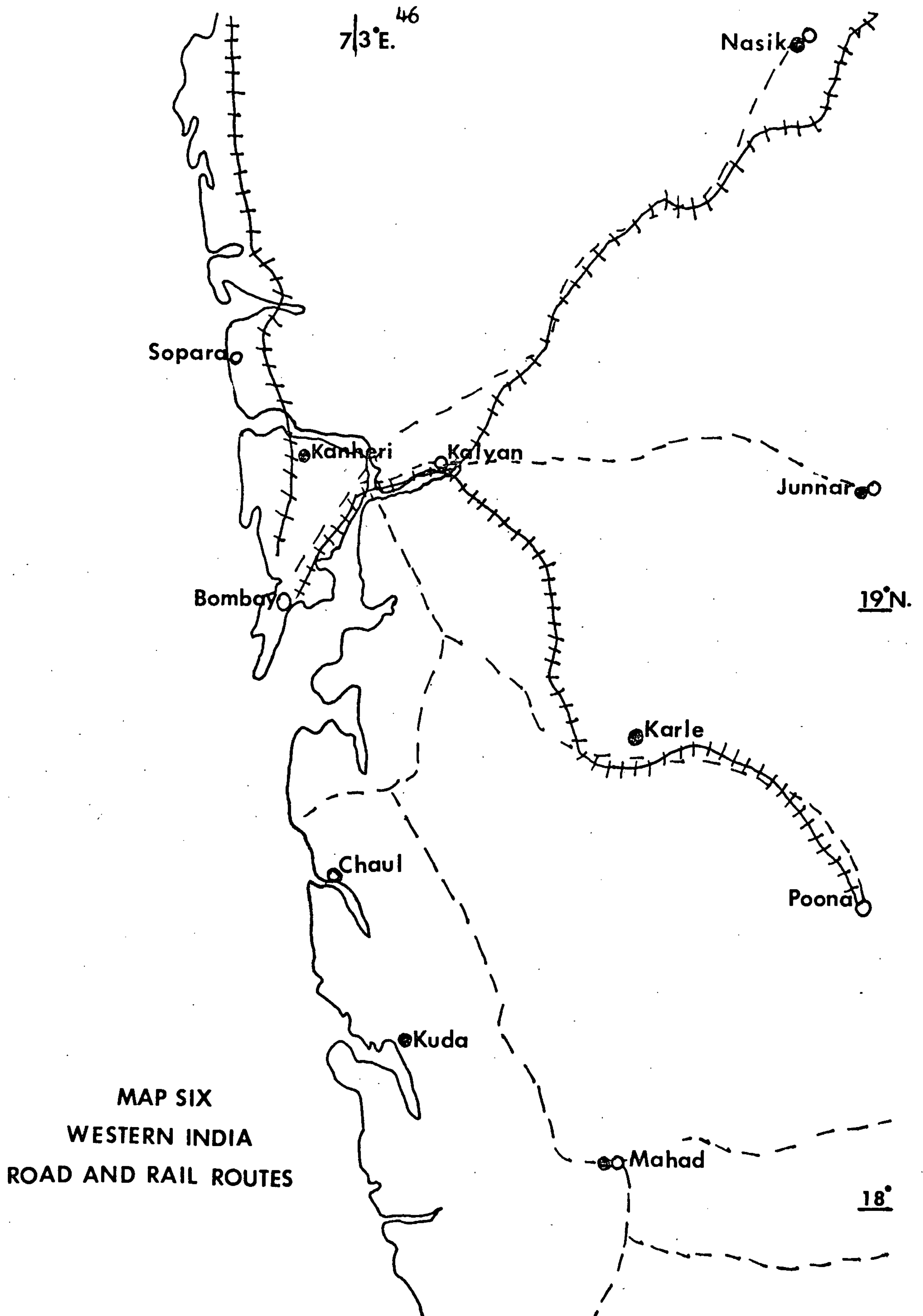


MAP THREE
JUNNAR–NANAGHAT REGION


To
Kalyan
Ambivale
Kondane
Karle
2
19°
45′
Bhaja
3
Bedsa
2
Selarvadi
To
Poona
MAP FOUR
KARLE-BOR GHAT REGION
Nadsur
2
73° 15′
30′
45′



MAP FIVE
KUDA-MAHAD REGION



MAP SIX
WESTERN INDIA
ROAD AND RAIL ROUTES

[1]Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit., pp. 168-169, where the cave excavations of Western India are similarly grouped. Fergusson and Burgess divide the sixth, southern group of caves into two groups of excavations, the coastal and interior. In this study, these two groups are considered together for reasons which will be later explained. Fergusson and Burgess further group Pitalkhora and Ajanta with Nasik. While these caves do bear some relationship, they will be here considered separately, largely for geographic reasons as will be detailed later.

[2]For Pitalkhora see M.N. Deshpande, "The Rock-Cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan," Ancient India volume 15 (1959), pp. 66-93. Also, William Willets, "Excavation at Pitalkhora," Oriental Art volume 7, number 2 (1961), pp. 59-65.

[3]Luders nos. 1187-1193 and M.N. Deshpande, op. cit., four inscriptions, pp. 76-82.

[4]This and subsequent dating of the caves and their inscriptions has been taken, in terms of relative chronology, from Dehejia.

[5]Luders nos. 1197-1199 and M.K. Dhavalikar, "New Inscriptions from Ajanta," Ars Orientalis volume 17 (1968), pp. 147-149, two new inscriptions, one incised, one painted.

[6]Luders no. 1144.

[7]See notes 20, 24, Chapter One. For Nasik see also, Jeanne L. Trabold, "A Chronology of Indian Sculpture: The Sātavāhana Chronology at Nasik," Artibus Asiae volume 32 (1970), pp. 49-88.

[8]Luders nos. 1131, 1136.

[9]Senart, Epigraphia Indica, volume 8, pp. 85-88, numbers them as 14a and 14b, but says, "...it cannot even be decided if these fragments (14b) are connected with the preceeding epigraph (14a) or independent from it."

[10]see Dehejia, op. cit., pp. 179-182, also Vidya Dehejia, "Early Buddhist Caves at Junnar," Artibus Asiae volume 31 (1969), pp. 147-166.

[11]Luders nos. 1175-1180.

[12]Luders nos. 1150-1155, 1181-1183.

[13]Luders nos. 1172-1174.

[14]Luders nos. 1158-1171.

[15]Luders no. 1156.

[16]Luders nos. 1159, 1160, 1161.

[17]For Kanheri see Ruth Wingfield Boosman, "Kanheri Caves,"

(Ph.D. dissertation, The Claremont Graduate School, 1961).

[18]Ie, Luders no. 1011; Dikshit, op. cit., p. 441; 1013, 1024.

[19]Luders no. 987, similarly Luders no. 1024 from cave 81. Also the previously mentioned Luders no. 994 of the queen of Vasiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, daughter of Rudradāman, circa A.D. 150.

[20]Luders nos. 985-1034.

[21]These inscriptions are Luders nos. 984, 989, 990, 991, 992, 997, 1026, 1028, 1029.

[22]Courtesy of Mrs. Marilyn Leese, M.A., Ph.D. candidate, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The inscription reads,

Kalianesa negamasa chita...
kiyasa puno vasuyatasa podhi deyadhamma

It refers to the gift of a water cistern by some merchant from Kalyan. The inscription is located over a cistern at cave 2.

[23]Luders nos. 1004, 1008, 1022, 1023, 1030, 1034.

[24]M. Dikshit, "The Origin and Development of the Buddhist Settlements of Western India," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bombay, 1942).
These inscriptions are:
Luders no.
997-excluded from this study.
1003-gift of a cave, bathing cistern, by the wife of a merchant and householder, endowment to Ambika monastery near Kalyan. p. 436.
1008-fragmentary, not used.
1009-gift of cave, water cistern and clothes by the mother of a merchant, also endowment. p. 440.
1010-gift of cave by householder, son of a seṭhi, also endowment, p. 441.
1011-gift of cave by upāsaka, a seṭhi from Kalyan, endowment of 300 Kārṣāpaṇas to Abalika (Ambika?) monastery near Kalyan, p. 441.
1015-gift of cave, cistern by daughter of goldsmith, p. 442.
1017-gift of cave, p. 444.
1019-gift of cave, cistern by daughter of a householder, p. 446.
1022-fragmentary, not used.
1023-fragmentary, not used.
1025-gift of cave, cistern by nun, p. 451.
1026-excluded from this study.
1027-gift of field (?) by merchant, p. 452.
1028-excluded from this study.
1029-excluded from this study.
1030-fragmentary, not used.
1031-gift of taloka (structural part of cave?) by a householder, a seṭhi, p. 454.
1032-fragmentary, not used.

[25]Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit., p. 242.

[26]Luders nos. 1099 and 1100, 1106.

[27]M.N. Deshpande, "Important Epigraphical Records from the Caitya Cave, Bhaja," Lalit Kala volume 6 (1959-60), p. 32.

[28]Luders nos. 1086-1108, where Luders nos. 1101 and 1102 which refer to the gift of some sculpture by a monk are identical and therefore have been considered as one inscription. Thirteen inscriptions from Karle were published by Madho Sarup Vats, "Unpublished Votive Inscriptions in the Chaitya Cave at Karle," Epigraphia Indica volume 18 (1925-26), pp. 325-329. One inscription has also been published by K.A. Nilakant Shastri and K. Gopalachari in "Epigraphical Notes," Epigraphia Indica volume 24 (1937-38), p. 282. D.D. Kosambi, "Dhenukākaṭa," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay volume 31 (1955), has re-edited and translated the inscriptions from Karle, in addition to Selarvadi, Bhaja and Bedsa. Kosambi adds one apparently unpublished inscription from the Karle caitya, no. 21, p. 65.

[29]Luders nos. 1078-1084. Three inscriptions were discovered on the wooden ribs of the Bhaja caitya by M.N. Deshpande, op. cit., pp. 30-32.

[30]Luders nos. 1109-1111.

[31]Luders no. 1121 and one inscription published by C.C. Das Gupta, "Selarwadi Inscription," Epigraphia Indica volume 28 (1949-50), pp. 76-77.

[32]Luders no. 1069 and see Moreshwar G. Dikshit, "Ambivale Cave Inscriptions," Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute volume 22 (1941), pp. 72-73.

[33]Luders no. 1071 and one additional inscription referred to by M.G. Dikshit, "The Origin and Development of the Buddhist Settlements of Western India," p. 329, cited by M.A. Mehendale, op. cit., p. 329, the inscription is very fragmentary.

[34]Rev. J. E. Abbot, "Recently Discovered Buddhist Caves at Nadsur and Nenavali in the Bhor State, Bombay Presidency," Indian Antiquary volume 20 (1891), pp. 121-123. Several sites are known from this region other than these two described by Abbot. A detailed survey of this region has not been undertaken however, and no other inscriptions than those from Nadsur have been published. For these reasons, the Nadsur inscriptions have been grouped with Kuda. This lacuna is unfortunate, particularly because the ancient seaport of Chaul was of some importance.

[35]Several sites are also to be found in this region as for example near Wai to the north of Karadh, see Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit., pp. 211-212. As is the case with the Nadsur region, the excavations in the Karadh region should most properly be a separate group. However, this region has also not been adequately surveyed and only a single inscription from Karadh has been published.

For these reasons the Karadh inscription has been grouped with Kuda.

[36]Luders nos. 1037-1042, 1045, 1048-1066. Luders nos. 1043, 1044, 1046, 1047 are in Sanskrit and one of which (1047) refers directly to the gift of a Buddha image. These four inscriptions are late, outside of the period under consideration and have therefore been excluded from this study.

[37]Luders nos. 1052, 1059, fragmentary; 1057, not read.

[38]Luders nos. 1072-1074; 1074, fragmentary.

[39]Luders nos. 1075-1077.

[40]Luders nos. 1067-68, Nadsur; 1184, Karadh.

[41]Kosambi, op. cit., pp. 51-52.

[42]The importance of these places as ports in ancient times can be seen from the Periplus Maris Erythraei, 52.

CHAPTER THREE. DONATIONS AND DONORS.

The inscriptions from the cave excavations of Western India record, without exception, donations to the Buddhist religious institutions at which they are found. Two distinct major types of donations can be identified among these inscriptions. Certain inscriptions contain within them both types of donations. In this chapter, these two types of donations to the Buddhist religious institutions will be identified at the sites considered in this study in relation to the geographical framework detailed in the previous chapter. In many of the inscriptions, the occupation or some form of titular designation of the donors, in addition to their personal names, are given and remain extant. The occupational and titular designations will be considered in relation to the two types of donations within the context of the geographical framework of the sites here considered.

The majority of the inscriptions here considered record a gift of some part of the religious insitution. This gift can be of an entire cave, be it a vihāra or a caitya, as for example, from Nasik,

> A cave [vihāra], the meritorious gift of the fisherman Mugudāsa, and of his family.[1]

or from Kuda,

> The meritorious gift of a cave by the physician Somadeva, the son of the Māmaka-vejiya physician and worshipper, Isirakhita, and his (Somadeva's) sons Nāga, Isirakhita, and Sivaghosa, and daughters Isipālitā, Pusā, Dhaṁmā and Sapā.[2]

The gift of part of the religious insititution need not, however, be of an entire cave, and is often of part of a cave, for example, from Karle,

The gift of a pillar by Sihadhaya, a Yavana from Dhenukākaṭa.[3]

or from Nasik,

> Success! An inner cell, the meritorious gift of Dakṣamitrā, wife of Dīnīka's son Ṛṣabhadatta, and daughter of the Kṣaharāta kṣatrapa Nahapāna.[4]

The gift can also be of some functional or artistic addition to the cave site, for example, from Nasik,

> Success! A cistern (the gift) of Vudhika, a writer of the Śaka Dāmachika.[5],

and from Karle,

> The gift of a lion-pillar by the Mahārathi Agnimitraṇaka, the son of Goti.[6]

In short, any part of the cave excavations could have been a gift to the Buddhist religious institution, although not all parts are necessarily recorded as such by inscription.

Those inscriptions which primarily record gifts to the Buddhist religious institution, are, in form, very similar. They are short, seldom exceeding two or three lines. Almost invariably, the donor's personal name is mentioned. Other information as to the donor such as occupation, titular designation and place of origin is often added. The designation of the gift, if given, is placed variably in the final or penultimate position in the inscription. In some cases, the designation of the gift is not given and must be inferred from the location of the inscription. The gift to the religious insititution is most often described as a <u>dāna</u> or <u>deyadhaṁma</u>, these words again being placed variably in the final or penultimate position in the inscription. These two words used to describe the act of the donor in his donation to the religious institution are essentially synonomous, though the use of one or the other words is preferred at particular sites considered here.

Both words, dāna and deyadhaṁma, mean a gift or donation, although dāna is a simple gift and deyadhaṁma implies the religious duty of giving and as such if often translated as 'meritorious gift'. The expression dāna is most often used, although not without exception, at Karle, Ajanta and Pitalkhora. It also occurs at Junnar, Nasik, Bhaja and Bedsa, although at these sites, in addition to Kanheri and Kuda, deyadhaṁma is most often used. The exact significance, if any, of this regional variation in terminology is not immediately clear. The results of the action of the donor, at least, if not their exact intentions, appear to be the same.

Occasional examples of other forms of designating donations of gifts to the Buddhist religious instiutions are also to be found among the inscriptions here considered. Several inscriptions use the causal past participle, kārita[7], 'caused to be made', and a few inscriptions use the Prakritic forms of the causal past participle of the root STHA, 'has been established'.[8] It is in the use of these expressions that the only evidence exists for the actual mechanics of the donations of such gifts to the religious institutions, ie, they were gifts whose execution was paid for. The very occasional use of the simple past participle, kata, 'made', is also found in the inscriptions from the cave excavations.[9] The gift referred to in these cases was physically made by the donor. In these few cases, the donation is likely one of labour directly for the excavation of the cave, particularly for the addition of sculptural decoration.

The apparent, religious motive for donations to the Buddhist religious institutions is the acquisition of merit (Sanskrit puṇya, puna of the inscriptions), achieved through the act of giving.

The extensive use of the term deyadhaṁma in the inscriptions implies this acquisition of merit. In a few inscriptions, the object of the acquisition of merit is in fact specifically recorded, as for example from Kanheri,

> ...a cave and a water cistern for the acceptance of the ...Bhadrāyanīyas. The merit [punaṁ] (gained) thereby (shall belong) to...and to (my) mother Nandinikā. One cell...[10]

The use and importance of the term dāna found in the inscriptions has continued in contemporary Buddhism, for,

> There can be no doubt that the desire for merit is the primary basis for the practice of dāna, and their great concern with dāna is a true measure of the salience of merit in the Burmese motivational system.[11]

The terminology and internal evidence of the inscriptions strongly suggests that the same basic motivational factor, the acquisition of merit, was present in ancient Indian Buddhism as represented by the cave excavations of Western India.

The majority of inscriptions from the cave excavations record gifts to the Buddhist religious institution, conceived by their donors as religious duty. These inscription, on internal evidence alone, yield little information as to the financial mechanics and economic consequences of the donations. The information on the donors in these inscriptions, however, is important and will be examined in detail. The presence of these inscriptions referring to the donations of gifts and the information as to the donors of these gifts must be considered together with the second type of donation recorded in the corpus of inscriptions, the donations of endowments. The two types of donations will be examined in relation to the spatial distribution of the cave sites previously established. Whereas donations of simple gifts to the Buddhist religious institution

were to establish that institution, by the excavation of the caves; donations of endowments were, in purpose, intended for the sustaining and maintenance of the religious institution. The donations of endowments also undoubtably had, as their primary, religious motive, the acquisition of merit on the part of the donors. As with the donations of simple gifts, the inscriptions recording donations of endowments provide important information on their donors which will also be examined in detail. The donations of endowments, however, contain a great amount more informations on the functioning and consequences of donations to the religious institution in the context of the contemporary society. These endowments, then, are the most significant inscriptions for the study of the Buddhist religious institution in the context of the contemporary society, and their detailed internal source materials will be a subject of a detailed examination in a separate chapter.

The first and sixth groups of cave excavations contain inscriptions which almost exclusively record donations of gifts to the Buddhist religious institution. The single exception is from Mahad in the Kuda group where one inscription records both a gift and an endowment.[12] The major site of Kuda itself records only donations of gifts in the period under consideration. One later inscription records an endowment which should be noted, however this epigraph[13] is obviously outside the period previously defined with regard to its language and the purpose of its endowment. The first and sixth group of cave excavations, the Pitalkhora-Ajanta and Kuda groups, are those sites which are on the geographical extremities of the sites considered in this study. The Pitalkhora-Ajanta group is significantly more inland, the Kuda group being

located in the traditionally isolated Konkan.

The relatively few inscriptions in Group one, nine usable from Pitalkhora and four from Ajanta, all record donations of gifts.[14] Two inscriptions from Pitalkhora are fragmentary and the exact nature of their donations is uncertain. However, the donors remain recorded.[15] Deshpande C, found on a loose boulder in front of the caves, mentions a guild, seni, Sanskrit śreṇi. The other, Luders no. 1190, mentions only a royal physician, rājave[ja]. The nature of the donor here is understandable in the context of the other donors who are recorded at Pitalkhora, those of royal and administrative background. Physicians, veja, Sanskrit vaidya, are occasionally found among the donors to the cave excavations.[16] At Pitalkhora, however, is found the only example of a donor referred to as a royal physician. The royal physician here in question, Magila and his family, account for five of the donations at Pitalkhora. These five inscriptions, or 33.3% of all donations in Group one, form the bulk of the donations in this group by the first type of donor encountered throughout the cave excavations, the donor of stated royal or administrative background.[17] It is perhaps debatable whether a physician should be included in the first division of donors. Physicians hereafter are included in the second division of donors, that of the commercial and landed classes, as physicians are like any other merchant, although they sell a service rather than a good. The donor Magaila, however, is particular to designate himself a royal physician; therefore he must have had some close association with his contemporary ruling dynasty.

The donations of the family of Magila, the royal physician, are also included in the division of royal and administrative donors. The recording of donations by relatives of donors of a stated

occupation is a common occurrence among the inscriptions. The donations by female donors, wives, sisters, mothers etc. are of high frequency. They donations by donors who state a particular relationship with some person, who is likely the head of the donor's family, are here included among the social group of the person whose occupation or social standing is identified. These donations are seen as part of the collective enterprise of the family.

Four inscriptions or 26.7% of all donations in Group one are by members of the second division of donors, that of the commercial and landed classes. One of these inscriptions, the previously mentioned Deshpande C, is perhaps the donation of a guild. A perfumer, gādhika, Sanskrit gandhika, from the Sātavāhana capital of Paithan is recorded at Pitalkhora.[18] The occupation of perfumer is recorded in one other example at Karle.[19] One goldsmith, hiramakāra, Sanskrit hiraṇyakāra, is recorded at Pitalkhora, Deshpande D, as having made the figure of a yakṣa. The occupation of goldsmith is one found three other times in the inscriptions, although by the synonomous term suvaṇakāra, Sanskrit suvarṇakāra.[20] At Ajanta, the only donation recorded as coming from a commercial or landed donor is that of a merchant, Luders no. 1198. 'Merchant' here translates vaṇija, Sanskrit vaṇij, Pali vaṇijja. The use of this term for merchant occurs only three other times in the inscriptions.[21] That vaṇija is anything more than a general term for merchant, even with its limited occurrence in the inscriptions, cannot be ascertained on the internal evidence of the epigraphs here considered. The much more common term for merchant to be often encountered at other site groups is negama.

A single inscription, Deshpande B, from the Pitalkhora-Ajanta

group records a donation by a member of the Buddhist Saṅgha or religious brotherhood, bhichuṇi, more properly in the inscriptions, bhikhuṇi, Sanskrit bhikṣuṇi, Pali bhikkhuṇi. At all site groups, except Junnar, a small percentage of the donations made are by people who identify themselves as members of the Saṅgha; this forms the third grouping of donors detailed in Appendix B and Table 3. The first question here is how members of a religious brotherhood, who have apparently abandoned the world and with it their material possessions are able to make substantial donations to their own religious institutions. There is no evidence that these religious donors physically made their donations, the terminology in all cases being that of a gift paid for. The internal evidence of the inscriptions perhaps clarifies the position of donors who identify themselves as members of the Saṅgha. An epigraph from Kanheri states,

> Success! By the female ascetic Sāpā, the daughter of the lay-worshipper and inhabitant of Dhenukākaṭa, Kulapiya Dhamaṇaka, (and) the pupil of the Thera, the reverend Bodhika (she being associated) with her suster Ratinikā and with the whole number of her relations and connections, a cave and a water cistern have been excavated (as) a meritorious gift...[22]

This inscription implies that the families made donations to the Buddhist religious institution through their members who were also members of the Saṅgha. These donations then, would record the apparent religious donor and not what could be termed the 'economic donor'. Nevertheless, as this 'economic donor' is never fully recorded, as this would negate the intention of a donation through a family Saṅgha member, these donations have been separately grouped.

Each site group contains a number of donations, the occupation and social position of whose donors is either missing or was never recorded. At the Pitalkhora-Ajanta group, five inscriptions of

33.3% of all inscriptions record such donations which have been grouped as 'others' in Appendix B and Table 3.

Four inscriptions from Group one record the place of origin of the donors. Three donors, one a perfumer, come from the ancient Sātavāhana capital of Paithan, Sanskrit Pratiṣṭhāna.[23] One donor at Pitalkhora comes from Dhenukākaṭa.[24] The exact location of this important ancient town is unknown but it appears to be located somewhere near to Karle. Hence, it will be more fully considered when examining that site. The inscriptions from the Pitalkhora-Ajanta group do not, therefore, indicate any close geographical relationship between a town and the religious institution. On the contrary, on the available evidence, Ajanta and particularly Pitalkhora appear to have been pilgrimage sites, attracting donors from a considerable distance.

All donations recorded from site group six, with a sole exception from Mahad, are of gifts. Six inscriptions, or 19.3% of all donations in this group are by royal and administrative donors. Five of these donations are from Kuda. Four of these records from Kuda refer to a royal personage called a Mahābhoja.[25] In addition, one extremely fragmentary inscription from Kuda, which has not been generally included in this study, makes some reference to a Mahabhoja.[26] The title of Mahābhoja appears to be confined to the Konkan in the inscriptions from the cave excavations of Western India. The only other references to a Mahābhoja are to found in inscriptions from Kanheri in the Konkan and from Bedsa. This inscription from Bedsa[27], by the daughter of a Mahābhoja, a Maṁdavī and a Mahāraṭhinī, the wife of a Mahāraṭhi, bears a strong relation to those from Kuda. The apparent family name

Maṁdava is found in three of the records from Kuda[28] in addition to a reference found in the previously mentioned fragmentary epigraph. This record from Bedsa also tends to indicate an equivalence in rank between a Mahābhoja and a Mahāraṭhi, Sanskrit Mahāraṣṭhrin, a title found in several other cave excavations, for the donor indicates she is daughter of one and wife of the other. The record from Kanheri is likewise by a wife of a Mahāraṭhi, daughter of a Mahārāja and a Mahābhoji and also sister of a Mahābhoja. These two titles would appear to designate a local lord, subject to the ruling dynasty, but with a measure of local autonomy. Three of the royal and administrative donors at Kuda belong to a family in the service of the Mahābhoja Maṁdava Khaṁdapālita.[29] Nothing further is known of this Mahābhoja beyond these references. One inscription, Luders no. 1054, is of the daughter of Mahābhoja Sāḍakara Sudaṁsaṇa. Again, nothing further is known of this Mahābhoja. One donation from Kuda, Luders no. 1053, is by the daughter of a royal minister rājāmaca, Sanskrit rājāmātya, Pali rājāmacca. The titular designation amātya is also found at Nasik and at Junnar.[30] A single donation from Mahad is by a certain Prince (kumāra) Maṇaboa Vhenupālita, Luders no. 1072. Nothing further is known of this donor, the only royal personage in Group six who makes a direct donation to the Buddhist religious institution.

Twelve inscriptions or 38.7% of all donations in Group six are by donors of the commercial and landed classes. These donors include such merchants as a garland maker, mālākāra, an iron merchant, lohavāniya, and a physician. Five of the donors are designated as, or relatives of, a seṭhi, Sanskrit śreṣṭhin. Seṭhi is translated by Luders as 'banker', although this translation is probably not

accurate. In its particular sense, *seṭhi* is the head of a guild, or in a general sense the word implies a rich merchant somewhat more than a simple shopkeeper or bazaar merchant. The word is used in this general sense in modern Indian languages. Three donations are by those who call themselves *sathavāha* or by their relatives. *Sathavāha*, Sanskrit *sārthavāha*, is translated by Luders as 'trader', although its common specific meaning in Sanskrit is that of a head of a caravan. The word occurs only at Kuda and not enough internal evidence is available to identify its exact significance in Western India in the period under consideration.

Four donors from the commercial and landed classes are identified as a householder, *gahapati*, Sanskrit *gṛhapati*.[31] This title, in the inscriptions, implies somewhat more than a man who is head of a household. The *gahapati* was a man of considerable wealth or property. On several occasions donors detail their relationship to some *gahapati*. A donor at Kol, Luders no. 1075, for example, who identifies himself as a *seṭhi* adds that he is the son of a *gahapati*. There is a strong relationship between *gahapatis* and merchants throughout the cave excavations.[32] Of the some fourteen times the title *gahapati* appears in the inscriptions, ten times it is recorded in connection with some type of merchant. Those few times where a donor has been designated only as a *gahapati* have therefore been included in the division of commercial and landed donors.

Two donations from Kuda are by members of the *Saṅgha*, by nuns. The terminology here used is *pavayitika*, Luders no. 1041, and *pavaitika*, Luders no. 1060, Sanskrit *pravrajita*, Pali *pabbajita*, 'one who has gone forth', synonomous with *bhikhuṇi*.

Eleven inscriptions, or 35.5% of all donations in Group six,

do not detail the occupation or social status of the donor. Four of these epigraphs are fragmentary.

Only one inscription in Group six states the place of origin of the donor. This is a donation by an iron merchant, Luders no. 1055, from Karahākaḍa, most likely modern day Karadh. Kuda must have been a place of pilgrimage for this iron merchant, who must have had some resources to have made a donation at this coastal site, particularly when the cave excavations of Karadh lay outside his home town.

The donations to Group five of the cave excavations, Karle and its associated sites, are composed, in the great majority, of simple gifts to the Buddhist religious institution. Donations of endowments, all at Karle, account for a mere 8.6% of all donations at Karle and for 6.0% of all donations in Group five. Donations of gifts then account for 91.4% and 94.0% of all donations at Karle and at Karle and its associated sites, respectively.

Six donations or 12.0% of all donations at Karle and its associated sites are by royal and administrative donors. Three of the donors are feudatory lords, Mahāraṭhis, one is by a Mahāraṭhini, wife of a Mahāraṭhi, the previously mentioned daughter of a Mahābhoja from Bedsa.[33] One of the royal and administrative donors at Karle is Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Nahapāna, Luders no. 1099. Nahapāna himself is never recorded in the inscriptions as having made a donation to the Buddhist religious institutions. Uṣavadāta never directly states that he is even in the service of Nahapāna, only that he is married to Dakhamitā, daughter of Nahapāna. While this information is enough to indicate the social position of Uṣavadāta and to therefore include him in the first grouping of donors,

it would seen likely that Uṣavadāta would have been the officer to Nahapāna in his most southern conquests, the region of the cave excavations. One donation at Karle, Luders no. 1105, appears to be a direct donation by a royal personage. However, the initial portion of the inscription where the name of the king would have been placed is fragmentary. This epigraph is very similar in form to three Sātavāhana records from Nasik, one by Pulumāvi and two by Gautamīputra.[34] Scholarly debate has been considerable as to which of these two kings was responsible for the Karle inscription. The internal evidence of the inscription is, however, not strong enough to make a final decision.[35]

Ten inscriptions, or 20.0% of all donations in Group five, are by commercial and landed donors. Included among these donors are merchants such as a perfumer, gaṁdhika, Luders no. 1090, and a carpenter, vaḍhaki, Sanskrit vardhaki, Luders no. 1092. One donor, Luders no. 1091, calls herself the mother of a householder, gahata, Sanskrit gṛhastha, a word which appears only once in the inscriptions. This usage is perhaps significantly different from the use of gahapati, indicating the simple householder in the brahmanical sense rather than the likely more commercial sense of gahapati as seen in the inscriptions.[36] One other titular designation from an inscription from Selarvadi, Luders no. 1121, is translated here as householder. The word here used is kuḍukiya, Sanskrit kuṭumbin. This designation occurs once more in an inscription at Nasik, Luders no. 1147, in the more Sankritic form kuṭumbika. The householder from Selarvadi is also called a hālakiya, often translated as 'ploughman', and which implies that this kuṭumbin was head of an agricultural household, but certainly without the degree of wealth and commercial associations of a gahapati.[37]

Seven inscriptions, all from Karle, or 14.0% of all donations in Group five, are by members of the Saṅgha. One donation is by a thera, Sanskrit sthavira, literally meaning 'elder', but in Buddhist usage synonomous with bhikkhu. Thera in its strict sectarian meaning refers to the first great division of Buddhism, in opposition to the Mahāsaṅghika, at the second Buddhist council at Vaiśāli. Two donations are by one Sātimita from coastal Sopara who designates himself as a preacher, bhaṇaka, of the Dharmutariyas, Sanskrit Dharmottariyas.[38] Bhaṇaka refers to a person skilled in the recitation of certain sections of the Buddhist scriptures who is likely a particularly skilled monk. The mention of particular schools of Hīnayāna Buddhism, such as the Dharmottariyas, is found frequently in the inscriptions. It is useful in determining the spatial distribution of these schools in ancient India. The schools themselves, however, do not appear to have made a substantial difference in either the nature of the donations or the composition of the donors at the sites here considered.[39]

Twenty-seven inscriptions or 54.0% of all donations in Group five are by donors of other designations. This large percentage is accounted for by a type of donation and a group of donors particularly common to this group. Four inscriptions from Bhaja do not identify donors and are simply labels identifying one of a series of votive stūpas as being of some thera.[40] The stūpas in question are not the donations of the thera mentioned in the inscription but are the gift of some unmentioned donor. An inscription on a similar stūpa at Bedsa, Luders no. 1110, includes such information as to the name of the donor who caused the stūpa to be made. This series of small votive stūpas with inscriptions mentioning only to whom the donation is dedicated is peculiar to Bhaja.

Seven donors from Group five identify themselves only as a _Yavana_, which in this ancient period is taken to mean Greek.[41] Donations are also made by _Yavanas_ at Junnar and at Nasik.[42] The question as to the particular Greek association of these donors, all of whom have Indian names, is one which the available evidence is not likely to solve. Whether they were Indianized Greeks, Indian culture-Greeks, Indians who were also citizens of Greek towns or just foreigners from the West is relatively unimportant for this study.[43] The donors who call themselves _Yavanas_ in no case give any other occupational title. Presumably, _Yavana_ was informative enough in the contemporary society.[44] The most common interpretation is that these _Yavanas_ were also merchants.[45] The seaborne trade with Greeks from the eastern sections of the Roman Empire with the west coast of India is well known from works such as the _Periplus_. It is tempting to associate these _Yavanas_ with this trade. In this connection, however, it is significant to note that no notice of _Yavanas_ is found at coastal Kanheri, it is found only at the three inland sites of Karle, Junnar and Nasik. In any case, one would assume that such presumed foreigners as _Yavanas_, whatever their exact origin, would have been drawn to Western India for the purposes of trade. Such internal evidence form the inscriptions, however, wanting; therefore those donors who designate themselves as _Yavanas_ have been grouped among 'others'.

Dhenukākaṭa is given seventeen times in Group five as the place of origin of the donor.[46] Six of the donors from Dhenukākaṭa are _Yavanas_.[47] Dhenukākaṭa is also found recorded in the previously mentioned inscription from Pitalkhora and also at Kanheri.[48] It was obviously then a place of considerable importance, yet its exact

location has not been generally agreed upon. It has been identified as a coastal city because of its large population of Yavanas. Yet only one donor from Dhenukākaṭa and no Yavanas are found at Kanheri.[49] The substantial donations made by various types of donors from Dhenukākaṭa to the Karle caitya and also at Selarvadi would indicate a particular relationship between this town and the sites located in the Indrayani valley, known as Maval.[50] Certainly, the carpenter from Dhenukākaṭa who made the door to the caitya, Luders no. 1092, would not have travelled too far to undertake his meritorious task. The identification by D.D. Kosambi of Dhenukākaṭa with the village of Devagaḍ near to Karle appears then to be plausible.[51] Karle then would have been a site that was primarily established and maintained by a nearby town. Donors did, however, come from other towns and villages as for example the preacher Sātimita who journeyed from coastal Sopara, to the north of present day Bombay.[52] Several places, likely villages, remain unidentified.[53]

The three remaining site groups, Nasik, Junnar and Kanheri, are characterized by a substantial number of donations of endowments. The endowments, however, never comprise a majority of the inscriptions at any of the sites. Each site contains a number of epigraphs which record both the donation of a gift and also an endowment. This type of dual donation has hitherto not been found in the inscriptions, except for the single instance from Mahad. These dual donations must then be considered both with donations of gifts for the establishment of the Buddhist religious institution and perhaps more importantly with the donation of endowments for the maintenance of the religious institution. When the dual donations are considered with the donation of endowments, such endowments account for at least 25% of all

inscriptions at Nasik, Junnar and Kanheri. These three sites, then, contain inscriptions which have the most detailed information on the maintenance of the religious institution and, by consequence of the nature of the inscriptions, the most specific information on the functioning and consequences of donations to the Buddhist religious institution in the context of the contemporary society.

Of the thirty usable inscriptions in Group three, Junnar, twenty-one or 70.0% are donations of gifts to the Buddhist religious institution. Seven inscriptions or 23.3% record donations of endowments. Two inscriptions record both donations of gifts and endowments. Endowments then occur in nine inscriptions or 30.0% of all donations at Junnar.

Only a single inscription at Junnar records a donation by a royal or administrative donor. This is the donation of a gift by the royal minister of Nahapāna, Luders no. 1174. It should be noted that extensive Sātavāhana records are found at Nanaghat close to Junnar. These are not, however, donations to a Buddhist religious institution. The Sātavāhanas did not apparently have a direct donative interest in the cave sites surrounding Junnar.

Eight inscriptions or 26.7% of all donations at Junnar are by commercial and landed donors. Four of these donations are by those who designate themselves solely as householders or as a relative of a householder.[54] One of these donations by a householder, Luders no. 1153, is an inscription which has been variously translated. Buhler would make it donation by Vīraseṇaka, a chief, pamugha, Sanskrit pramukha, householder and upright merchant, dhaṁmanigama. Luders here takes nigama in its more usual sense as a settlement and translates it as "a pious hamlet". Luders however makes the donation

by the nigama called Vīrasenaka which is "headed by householders". My interpretation, however, is that the donation is by the chief householder called Vīrasenaka of the 'pious hamlet' or Buddhist town.[55] One donation at Junnar, Luders no. 1172, is by a merchant, negama, Sanskrit naigama. Negama means one coming from a town or a market place, ie, a townsman or merchant. That nigama can also mean an association of merchants, perhaps indicates that the negamas here recorded were members of urban guilds, which might help in distinguishing this designation from that of vaṇija previously mentioned. The inscriptions do not, however, offer any internal evidence to make such a distinction. A negama is not, for example, simultaneously identified as a seṭhi or a member of a seṇi. Negama must, however, be a merchant with a particular association with a town. One donation at Junnar, the gift of a cave and a cistern, Luders no. 1180, is made collectively by a guild of corndealers, dhaṁñikaseṇi, Sanskrit dhānya-, Pali dhañña-. The activities of such guilds are important in considering donations of endowments; however donations by guilds themselves are rare.[56] One donation, Luders no. 1177, is by a goldsmith from Kalyan. From Kalyan also is a donor who identifies himself as a hairaṇyaka, Sanskrit hiraṇyaka, Luders 1179, which is most commonly translated as 'treasurer'. This donor could be a treasurer of a guild or some other commercial organization or hiraṇyaka could perhaps be a dealer in gold as distinguished from a maker of gold, a goldsmith, hiraṇyakāra.[57]

Twenty-one inscriptions or 70.0% of all donations at Junnar are by donors who do not clearly identify themselves by occupation or social position. Junnar is the site which contains the largest percentage of donors, or donations without extant donors, that are

included in the 'others' grouping. Five of these donations are fragmentary, four of which are donations of endowments whose donors are lacking or perhaps, unusually, were not recorded.[58] Three donors from Junnar designate themselves as Yavanas.[59] One donor, Luders no. 1162, calls himself a Śaka, which might associate him with the Kṣatrapa or Ābhīra dynasties.[60] Several inscriptions at Junnar are by donors who identify themselves only as an upāsaka, a lay-worshipper, or by designations which appear to be perhaps family or caste group names.[61]

Only three donors at Junnar record identifiable places of origin. Two donors, the goldsmith and 'treasurer' previously mentioned, came up the Nanaghat from the important coastal town of Kalyan. One donation, Luders no. 1169, is by two brothers who came from Bharukacha, modern day Broach which was an important port at the mouth of the Narmada river. Two Yavanas may perhaps have come from some unidentified Gatā country.[62] Most of the donors, however, must have come from the town on the ancient site of Junnar. Perhaps the dhaṁmanigama, the Buddhist town, mentioned in Luders no. 1153, is not specifically named because it would have obviously referred to the town which the cave excavations surround.

Of the twenty-eight usable inscriptions found in Group two, Nasik, twenty-five provide information as to the type of intended donation. One inscription, Luders no. 1122, consists of only a first line, giving the date in the regnal years of Pulumāvi. The intended donation is thereafter missing as is the name of the donor. On the model of Luders no. 1123, this may be a royal inscription of Queen Balaśrī, however this cannot be confirmed on the available evidence. Two inscriptions, Luders nos. 1135 and 1136, which have

been previously discussed as probably belonging together, no. 1135 being definately a donation of Uṣavadāta, are so fragmentary that the type of donation cannot be ascertained. Sixteen inscriptions, or 64.0% of the usable inscriptions at Nasik then are donations of gifts. Nine inscriptions, or 36.0% of the usable inscriptions contain donations of endowments. Of these donations of endowments, four inscriptions are of the dual nature, containing both donations of gifts and endowments. One inscription, Luders no. 1130, while apparently a dual donation, has been grouped as a donation of an endowment only. This epigraph again records the donation of the same cave, by the fisherman Mugudāsa, previously recorded in Luders no. 1129.

Twelve inscriptions or 42.9% of the donations at Nasik are by royal and administrative donors. This is the highest percentage of such donors found at any of the site groups. Nasik was a site of particular importance for the contemporary reigning dynasties, as can be seen from the four donations of the Sātavāhanas and the five of the Kṣharāta Kṣatrapas here recorded.[63] The political relations between these two dynasties in the context of their donative activities towards the Buddhist religious institution is of particular importance in the donations of endowments to the Nasik cave excavations and will be further examined in the following chapter. Two donations at Nasik are given by royal officers or their families, one, Luders no. 1141, by the daughter and wife of ministers, amātya. The other, Luders no. 1144, is by an important minister to the king a mahāmāta, Sanskrit mahāmātra, Pali mahāmatta. The king in question here was Kṛṣṇa, the early Sātavāhana. One donation at Nasik, Luders no. 1146, is by the wife of a great general, mahāsenāpati. The general was under the command of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi. The presence of such a donation by the

family of an important military personage would emphasize the importance of Nasik for the contemporary reigning dynasties.

Seven inscriptions or 25.0% of all donations at Nasik are by commercial and landed donors. These donors include two merchants, negama.[64] One donor, Luders no. 1147, is the head of an agricultural household, kuṭuṁbika. Two donors, who make three donations, identify themselves as writers or scribes, lekhaka, or as members of their families.[65] These writers have been included in the division of commercial and landed donors rather than in the division of royal and administrative donors as in the case of the writer at Kuda, Luders no. 1037, because here such a royal affiliation is not directly stated. One of the writers at Nasik, Vudhika, responsible for two donations, states that he is the writer to a Śaka, likely an important personage but without any of the usually stated royal connections. These writers or scribes, then were likely professionals who sold a service rather than a good. One donation was made by a fisherman, dāsaka, Sanskrit dāśaka.[66] While a fisherman is a seemingly humble occupation, the fisherman here considered must have been of some means to travel inland, his occupation implies a coastal place of origin although this is not so stated, and give a cave to the Buddhist religious institution at Nasik. Dāśaka could also have ferryman or mariner as secondary meanings.

Eight inscriptions or 28.6% of all donations at Nasik are by donors whose occupation and social position is either missing or not known. Three of these donations are fragmentary, two of which, however, may be of royal donors.[67] One donation, Luders no. 1140, is by the previously mentioned Yoṇaka, who because of his place of origin has the strongest Greek association of any donor to the cave

excavations, nothwithstanding his very Indian name, Indrāgnidatta. One donation, in the time of the Ābhīra dynasty, Luders no. 1137, is by a donor who is the wife of a gaṇapaka, the exact meaning of which is uncertain.[68]

One donation, Luders no. 1142, is a collective endowment by the village of Dhambika, "the Nasik people". This is the only example in the inscriptions where a village has made such a collective donation. One is not certain though, whether such a collective donation was made by popular subscription or by administrative decision.

The ancient town of Nasik would appear to be the most immediate place of origin of the donors. The Mahāmāta previously mentioned was a resident of this town. The writer Vudhika records that he is an inhabitant of Dasapura, modern Mandsaur in Madhya Pradesh.[69] The location of Dhaṁtamiti, ie, Demetrius, home of the Yoṇaka Indrāgnidatta has been a matter of some speculation, the inscription itself stating only that it is in the north, otarāha.[70]

Of the thirty-seven usable inscriptions from Group four, Kanheri, twenty-two or 59.5% are donations of gifts to the Buddhist religious institution. Inscriptions which record endowments number fifteen or 40.5% of all donations. Fourteen of these donations of endowments are inscriptions of the dual nature, recording both gifts and endowments. The large number of such dual donations can in part be explained by the practise, unique at Kanheri, of recording donations of gifts and endowments to Buddhist institutions other than Kanheri, particularly for those at Kalyan, along with a donation to Kanheri. Such donations will be examined when the close relationship of Kanheri with the ancient port of Kalyan is considered.

Only three inscriptions at Kanheri record the donations of royal and administrative donors. All three donations are made by female donors, only one, Luders no. 994, being a member of a contemporary reigning dynasty. This donor is the wife of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and likely the daughter of Rudradāman. The other royal donors include the wife of a Bhoja, Luders no. 1013, a local feudatory ruler, presumably close in rank to a Mahābhoja. A donation is also made by a Mahārathini, Luders no. 1021, a wife of a Mahārathi.

Twenty-three inscriptions at Kanheri or 62.2% of all donations are made by donors of thecommercial and landed classes. Eight of these donors designate themselves as negama, merchant, or their relatives.[71] Five donors are 'treasurer-gold merchants' or goldsmiths or their relatives.[72] Four donors are seṭhis, bankers or guild leaders.[73] If indeed negama refers to a merchant who is a member of a guild and if hiraṇyaka is in reality a treasurer of a guild rather than a gold merchant, then with the addition of seṭhis, fifteen of the commercial donors at Kanheri would have guild associations. In any case, mercantile donations at Kanheri are the most numberous, both in number and percentage terms, of any site here considered. Three donations are made by commercial donors not otherwise found among the inscriptions. One, Luders no. 1005, is by a manikara, Sanskrit maṇikara, obviously a jeweller or gem merchant. One, Luders no. 1012, appears to be a corporate gift of a cave by a community of sea traders or some other group involved with the sea, sāgarapaloga, Sanskrit sāgarapraloka.[74] The other, Luders no. 1032, is the gift of a blacksmith, kamāra, Sanskrit karmāra.

Six inscriptions or 16.2% of all donations at Kanheri are by member of the Saṅgha. Five inscriptions or 13.5% of all donations

are fragmentary or do not record the occupation or social position of the donor.

Eleven donors at Kanheri record that they come from the nearby port of Kalyan.[75] Kalyan then, had a particularly close relation in donative activities with the religious institution established at Kanheri. This relationship of the religious institution with a not too distant town is the same as that seen at Karle with Dhenukākaṭa and with those likely existing between the towns of Junnar and Nasik and their associated cave sites. The particularly close relationship of Kalyan with Kanheri is emphasized by the recording of donations at Kanheri to a certain Ambālikāvihāra at Kalyan.[76] Apart from this close relationship with Kalyan, Kanheri also drew pilgrim donors from throughout Western India. Three donors come from the port of Sopara to the north and two from the port of Chaul to the south of Kanheri.[77] Individual donors record their places of origin as Nasik and Dhenukākaṭa.[78] One inscription, Luders no. 988, in addition to recording donations to the Ambālikāvihāra at Kalyan, records donations in the district, <u>āhāra</u>, of Sopara and as far away as Paithan and its vicinity. From this information recorded in the inscriptions, it becomes apparent that Kanheri was among the most important Buddhist religious institutions in Western India in its time. Not only could it attract wealthy local donors, and donors from important, adjacent coastal towns, Kanheri could also attract inland donors and also become a place to record various donations to Buddhist religious institutions throughout Western India.

The percentage of royal and of mercantile donors at the sites here considered follow a consistent pattern regardless of the type of donation, gift or endowment. That is, the percentage of royal

donors and of mercantile donors is that same at each site, within broad limits, but with one site having a substantially larger percentage of one group of donors. Kanheri was then, largely supported and maintained by commercial and landed donors with 62.2% of all donations made by this group. The other five sites were also well supported by commercial and landed donors, ranging from a low of 20% of all donations at Karle and its associated sites to 38.7% at Kuda and its associated sites. If Yavanas are also supposed to be merchants, then these percentages would increase, particularly in the case of Karle, making the percentage of mercantile donors here 34.0%. In any case, in the five site, excepting Kanheri, the average percentage of mercantile donors is at present 28.0%, less than half that of Kanheri. The dominance of commercial and landed donors at Kanheri may be explained by the commercial activity of the region of the site, particularly of Kalyan, at the time of Kanheri's establishment, after A.D. 100. This is most likely in part caused by the contemporaneous development of the monsoon sea trade at this time. The dominance of the Kanheri region in this trade is a factor of this region's position as the terminus of the local interior to coastal routes as detailed in the previous chapter. It may be noted here that Kanheri also contains the most donations by members of the Saṅgha, 16.2%, at least one of which from Dhenukākaṭa would have been brought to Kanheri by the same routes which terminate in this region. While Kanheri is the site most supported by mercantile donors, for which particular causes can be suggested if not confirmed, it is important to realize the consistently high percentage of donations made by commercial and landed donor at each site.

Nasik was the site most supported by royal and administrative

donors, 42.9% of all donations. Nasik was particularly well supported by members of the contemporary ruling dynasties. Groups three to six have a low of 3.3% at Junnar to a high of 19.3% at Kuda of all donations made by royal and administrative donors. Only at Pitalkhora-Ajanta, with 33.3% of all donations made by such donors, does the percentage approach that at Nasik. This perhaps is deceiving, for at this group few inscriptions remain, this high percentage being caused by the generosity of the family of one royal physician at Pitalkhora. The relatively high number, among Groups three to six, of royal donations at Kuda can perhaps be explained by the geographical position of this site. None of the donors at Kuda and its associated sites belongs to one of the great contemporary dynasties, they are feudatories, Mahābhojas etc. Kuda then was an isolated region, as it is even today, with numerous donations made by local merchants and feudatory lords. At each site, royal and administrative donors have some part in the establishment and maintenance of the religious institution. The average percentage of donation by such donors being, excluding Nasik and Pitalkhora-Ajanta, 10.7%. The importance of Nasik for royal donors appears to be largely political as will be seen in an examination of endowments from that site.

The Buddhist religious institutions, as seen from their inscriptions, were largely supported by firstly the mercantile sections of society and then by the ruling classes of the contemporary society. The donations to certain sites are dominated by one or the other of these two groups of donors because of some particular circumstance of that site. Members of the Saṅgha had some part in supporting all sites, but these donations have been considered apart because they appear to be representing other persons. The large number of donations

where the donor is stated by name only, where a titular designation cannot be translated or where the inscription is fragmentary at some part, must make all numbers and percentages of groups of donors necessarily tentative. The available evidence, however, well establishes the general nature of the types of donors, their donations and the composition of each at the Buddhist religious institutions here considered.

TABLE 2. Donations by Sites

	Group I		Group II		Group III		Group IV		Group V		Group VI	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Gift	13	100.0	16	64.0	21	70.0	22	59.5	47	94.0	30	96.8
Gift and Endowment	-	-	4	16.0	2	6.7	14	37.8	-	-	1	3.2
Endowment	-	-	5	20.0	7	23.3	1	2.7	3	6.0	-	-
Others	2	////	3	////	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 3. Donors by Sites

	Group I		Group II		Group III		Group IV		Group V		Group VI	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Royal and Administrative	5	33.3	12	42.9	1	3.3	3	8.1	6	12.0	6	19.3
Commercial and Landed	4	26.7	7	25.0	8	26.7	23	62.2	10	20.0	12	38.7
Saṅgha	1	6.7	1	3.6	-	-	6	16.2	7	14.0	2	6.5
Others		33.3		28.6		70.0		13.5		54.0		35.5
-Yavana	-		1		3		-		7		-	
-others	5		4		13		3		14		7	
-fragmentary not given	-		3		5		2		6		4	

[1]Luders no. 1129.

[2]Luders no. 1048.

[3]Luders no. 1093.

[4]Luders no. 1132.

[5]Luders no. 1149.

[6]Luders no. 1088.

[7]Luders no. 1123 kārita deyadhama, 1131, 1140, 1143, 1144, 1147, Nasik; Vats no. 5, Karle; 1110 Bedsa.

[8]Luders nos. 1001, 1006 patiṭhāpita - 'established', Kanheri; 1087 pariniṭhapita here implying completion, Karle, cf, Senart, Epigraphia Indica 7, p. 49; 1141 niṭhapāpita again implying completion, Nasik, cf, Senart, Epigraphia Indica 8, p. 92.

[9]Luders nos. 1067, Nadsur; 1071, Kondane; 1092, 1104, Karle; Deshpande nos. A, D, Pitalkhora.

[10]Luders no. 1018.

[11]Melford E. Spiro, Buddhism and Society (New York, 1970), p. 111.

[12]Luders no. 1073. A detailed list of the types of donations by site group with the terminology used to describe the donation and a description of the donation itself will be found in Appendix A.

[13]Luders no. 1047.

[14]The numbers of types of donations with their percentage of the respective site group will be found in Table 2.

[15]A detailed list of the donors by occupation and social standing at each site will be found in Appendix B.

[16]EI vol. 24, Karle; Luders no. 1048, Kuda.

[17]The numbers and types of donors with ther percentage within their respective site groups will be found in Table 3.

[18]Luders no. 1187.

[19]Luders no. 1090.

[20]Luders no. 1177, Junnar; 986, 1015, Kanheri.

[21]Luders no. 987, Kanheri; Vats nos. 3, 9, Karle.

[22]Luders no. 1020.

[23]Luders nos. 1187, 1188, Pitalkhora; Dhavalikar no. 2, Ajanta.

[24]Deshpande A.

[25]In one case Mahābhoya, Luders no. 1054.

[26]Luders no. 1052.

[27]Luders nos. 1021, Kanheri; 1111, Bedsa, again -bhoya in preference to -bhoja. Maṁdavī reconstructed by Luders.

[28]Luders nos. 1037, 1045, 1049.

[29]Luders nos. 1037, 1045, 1049 by inference.

[30]Luders nos. 1141, Nasik, rāya- for rāja-; 1174, Junnar where in its Sanskritic form [a] mātya, Buhler restores [ā]mātya, although a- is more correct. Luders records āmatya, perhaps a typographical error. Kautilya discusses the appointment of ministers, amātya, in relation to councillers, mantrin, to the king, Arthaśāstra, I, 8. R.P. Kangle, ed., (Bombay, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 9-10.

[31]Luders nos. 1056, 1062, Kuda; 1073, Mahad; 1075, Kol.

[32]Senart recognizes this relationship, for, "...gṛhapati is, in the Buddhist language, specially restricted to people of various castes, who are included in the large class of Vaiśyas." Epigraphia Indica 8, p. 75.

[33]Luders nos. 1088, 1100, Karle; 1079, Bhaja; 1111, Bedsa.

[34]Luders nos. 1124, Pulumāvi; 1125, 1126, Gautamīputra.

[35]Buhler does not indicate a preference. Senart prefers Pulumāvi and discusses this epigraph fully, Epigraphia Indica 7, pp. 65-71. Luders inclines towards Gautamīputra. The mention of the order of the king being issued from "the victory camp" in both the Karle inscription and Luders no. 1125 would incline me to think that the Karle inscription is of Gautamīputra. Senart recognizes this possibility.

[36]Senart says that Gahata indicated a householder of brahmanical rather than vaiśya origin. Epigraphia Indica 7, pp. 52-53.

[37]Luders no. 1084, Bhaja, is the donation of Bādhā, wife of Hālika, which may also be an agriculturist, although not necessarily a householder, kuṭumbika. Hālika may also be a personal name, Luders prefers this sense. This epigraph has therefore been grouped in the 'others' class of donors.

[38]Luders nos. 1094, 1095. I follow Senart and Luders that in 1095 the reading must be Nadiputa, rather than Nadipati, husband of Nadi, cf, Senart, Epigraphia Indica 7, p. 55. These two inscriptions

are on the same pillar and perhaps could be taken as the same donation, although 1095 also refers to the gift of relics, the appropriate hole being found on the pillar.

[39]Donations are also made to the Mahāsaṅghikas at Karle, Luders nos. 1105, 1106, to the Caitikas at Nasik, Luders no. 1130 and possibly at Junnar, Luders no. 1171, to the Bhadrāyaniyas at Kanheri, Luders nos. 987, 1018 and at Nasik, Luders nos. 1123, 1124 and to the Dharmottariyas at Junnar, Luders no. 1152. The Bhadrāyaniyas and the Dharmottariyas apparently popular in Western India at this time, were divisions of the Vatsīputrīya school noted for the much criticized doctrine of the self, pudgala, ie, Candrakīrti, Prasannapadā Madhyamakavṛitti traduit par Jacques May (Paris, 1959), p. 162, note 502 for full references. Cf, Bareau, Les Sectes, pp. 114-120, 127-129. The Mahāsaṅghikas were the more liberal schools of Hīnayāna Buddhism dating from the second council at Vaiśāli, for their doctrines see Bareau, op. cit., pp. 55-74. The Caitikas were a division of the Mahāsaṅghikas.

Certain donors, particularly royal personages, had distinct preferences in the schools which were the recipients of their donations. The Sātavāhana donation, Luders no. 1105, of the endowment of the village of Karajaka is made to the Mahāsaṅghikas. This same village had previously been donated to the Sangha of the four quarters, catudisa bhikhusaṅgha, by Uṣavadāta, Luders no. 1099, similarly nos. 1131, 1133 at Nasik of Uṣavadāta. Other donations to the Saṅgha of the four quarters include Luders nos. 1137, 1139, Nasik; 1024, Kanheri.

[40]Luders nos. 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083.

[41]Luders nos. 1093, 1096, Vats nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 10.

[42]Luders nos. 1154, 1156, 1182, Junnar; 1140, Nasik in the more Prakritic form Yoṇaka. It has been maintained that Yoṇaka indicates an origin from contemporary Hellenistic Greek, see W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 416-418. Tarn believes that this usage, the single example from the inscriptions, in addition to the donor stating that he comes from Daṁtāmiti, ie, Demetrius, indicates a more direct Greek origin. Yona, however, is a standard Prakrit form of Yavana, ie, Asokan Rock Edict 13, and the suffix -ka often indicates in the inscriptions little more than a person, ie, bhāṇaka, hiraṇyaka etc. The single usage of the form Yoṇaka and the common usage of the Sanskritic form Yavana is in itself anomolous. See also A. K. Narain, The Indo-Greeks (Oxford, 1957), pp. 165-169.

[43]Tarn discusses fully the question, op. cit., pp. 254-258, his conclusion being that they were Greeks by law, ie, citizens of some polis, derives from Luders no. 1096, where the donor is styled as Dhaṁmayavana. Buhler, Senart and Luders all translate this as, "of Dhaṁma, a Yavana," although Senart suggests that it is, "of a Yavana of the Law." ie, a Buddhist Yavana, this appears to me a more likely resolution of the compound.

It is interesting to note the strong association of Western

India with such 'Greeks'. For example, in the Ceylonese tradition the mission sent to Aparāntaka by Moggaliputta Tissa in the time of Aśoka was a Yona Dhammarakkhita, see Mahāvaṁsa, translated by Wilhelm Geiger (London, 1964), ch. 12, 4-4, pp. 82; 34-36, p. 85. Also, Dīpavaṁsa, edited and translated by B.C. Law, The Ceylon Historical Journal volume 7, nos. 1-4, ch. 8, 7, text p. 60, trans. p. 186, where the form Yonaka is used. For the identification of Aparāntaka with the coastal regions of Western India see Luders no. 1013, Kanheri. Also, the viceroy of Aśoka who completed the Sudarśana lake at Girnar is said to be the Yavana king Tusaspha in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman commemorating the restoration of this lake, see Kielhorn, op. cit., Luders no. 965. In addition, the coins of Nahapāna have inscriptions in Greek letters, on the obverse, transliterating the Prakrit Brāhmī and Karoṣṭhi inscriptions on the reverse, see H.R. Scott, "The Nasik (Jogalthembi) Hoard of Nahapāna's Coins," Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society volume 22 (1905), pp. 226-231.

[44]Kosambi, however, maintains that the donation of the physician, EI vol. 24, is by the Greek Miḷiṁda rather than Miṭidasa. While not called a Yavana, the name Miḷimda would imply the Greek name Menander, as for example in the Pali text Miliṁdapañha. This reading is based on the re-reading of ṭ to ḷ, two letters which could easily be confused in Brāhmī. The addition of the anusvāra is also possible, it being often added or deleted in the reading of the inscriptions, because of the nature of the stone. This suggested reading would also have the advantage of placing the name and occupation of the donor in the genetive case in apposition, ie, Miḷiṁdasa vejasa, the form more common in the inscriptions, rather than in a compound, ie, Miṭidasa-vejasa.

[45]see for example, Dehejia, Early Buddhist Rock Temples, p. 143. Dehejia here also maintains that the royal physician Magila at Pitalkhora, "seems to have been a yavana," without presenting evidence to this effect.

[46]Luders nos. 1093, 1096, 1097, Vats nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, Kosambi, Karle; 1121, Selarvadi as Dhenukākaḍa.

[47]Luders nos. 1093, 1096, Vats nos. 4, 6, 7, 10.

[48]Deshpande A, Pitalkhora; Luders no. 1020, Kanheri.

[49]E.H. Johnston, "Two Notes on Ptolemy's Geography of India," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1941), pp. 208-213, where Dhenukākaṭa is identified with the Dounga of Ptolemy.

[50]Māmāḍe and Māmāla of Luders no. 1105, Karle.

[51]Kosambi, op. cit., pp. 56-61.

[52]Luders nos. 1094, 1095.

[53]Umekanākaṭa, Vats no. 1, Goṇekāka(ṭā), Vats no. 2, note the similarity in form to Dhenukākaṭa. Kosambi states that, "Vats read

Gonekāka-sa, but the last syllable is ṭā or ja and the first two letters are also doubtful, so that this donor was in all probability from Dhenukākaṭa, but unfortunate in his choice of scribe and mason," op. cit., p. 66. Kaṭa means curve, ie, slope of a hill.

[54]Luders nos. 1153, 1157, 1170, 1171.

[55]Senart, however, commenting on this inscription in connection with the expression dhaṁmayavana in Luders no. 1096, Karle, takes dhaṁmanigama as, "a member of the guild of Buddhist merchants." Epigraphia Indica 7, p. 56. Nigama in the final position in a compound could mean a guild of traders.

[56]Others perhpas include Deshpande C, Pitalkhora; Vats no. 3, Karle.

[57]hiraṇyaka, Luders nos. 993, 996, 1033, Kanheri; 1177, Junnar.

[58]Luders nos. 1150, gift; 1163, 1165, 1166, 1167, endowments.

[59]Luders nos. 1154, 1156, 1182.

[60]Usavādata, for example, calls himself a Śaka, Luders no. 1135, Nasik; the donor Viṣṇudattā, Luders no. 1139, Nasik, recorded in the time of the Ābhīra dynasty, is the wife of a gaṇapaka, she calls herself a Śakani and is daughter of Agnivarman, a Śaka.

[61]see particularly Luders nos. 1151, Mudhakiya, Golikiya; 1152, 1155, Patībadhaka; 1176, Nādaka.

[62]Luders nos. 1154, 1182, as translated by Buhler. Luders makes it a personal rather than a geographical name. Buhler recognizes this possibility in 1182. Kosambi, op. cit., pp. 65-66, commenting on Vats no. 1 from Karle takes gatā as a separate word, Vats took it as part of the personal name of the Yavana Vīṭasaṁgata. Kosambi then takes gatā to mean 'departed, deceased', implying a posthumous gift. The consistent use of ghe genetive plural, although found to modify a genetive singular in such a way in the inscriptions, would rather imply a country or a people.

[63]Luders nos. 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, Sātavāhana; 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, Kṣatrapa.

[64]Luders nos. 1127, nyegama; 1139, nekama.

[65]Luders nos. 1138, 1148, 1149.

[66]Luders no. 1129.

[67]Luders nos. 1122 of Balaśrī?; 1136 of Uṣavadāta if continuation of 1135; 1143.

[68]Buhler supposes it to mean 'military officer', op. cit., p. 104' Senart, Epigraphia Indica 8, p. 89, questions this, with good reason,

and supposes it to be gaṇaka, accountant or astrologer. Luders leaves this word untranslated. D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary (Delhi, 1966), p. 110, also supposes it to be the same as gaṇaka, which he translates as accountant. The addition of -pa- remains, however, unexplained. Whatever the exact meaning of this titular designation, the donor and her family had considerable means to be able to make at least four substantial endowments at Nasik. As the inscription is dated in the regnaly years of the Ābhīra Īśvarasena and as the donor Viṣṇudattā, wife of the gaṇapaka Rebhila is said to be the daughter of a Śaka, one could suppose some royal connection. This, however, is not directly so stated.

69 see Parmanand Gupta, Geography in Ancient Indian Inscriptions upto 650 A.D. (Delhi, 1963), p. 68. The location of Mandsaur, close to Rajasthan and Udaipur, would be appropriate as the writer from Dasapura is in the service of a Śaka. Dasapura is also mentioned in an inscription of Uṣavadāta, Luders no. 1131.

70 Tarn, op. cit., p. 142, maintains Demetrius was in Sind and founded by Demetrius of Bactria in the first half of the second century B.C. E.H. Johnston, "Demetrius in Sind?," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1939), pp. 217-240, opposes this view and places Demetrius in the Punjab. Tarn reiterates his views, "Demetrius in Sind," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1940), pp. 179-189, with a reply by Johnston, pp. 189-193. Senart, Epigraphia Indica 8, p. 91, following Buhler, takes it to be Demetrius in Archosia mentioned by Isidore of Charax in Parthian Stations.

71 Luders nos. 995, 998, 1000, 1001, 1002, wife, 1009 mother, 1024 son, M. Leese.

72 Luders nos. 986, 1015 daughter, suvarṇakāra; 993 wife, 996 son, 1033, hiraṇyaka.

73 Luders nos. 1003 wife, 1010 son, 1011, 1031.

74 This translation is the suggestion of Buhler. Luders leaves this compound untranslated, such a designation apparently not being attested to in other examples. Loka can mean 'men' and particularly a 'company or community' when used at the end of a compound in plural to form collectives. Pra+loka is not attested to, but pra often adds little meaning apart from emphasis.

75 Luders nos. 986, 998, 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1011, 1014, 1024, 1032, M. Leese.

76 Luders nos. 988, 998, 1003, 1011. 998 does not specifically mention the Ambālikāvihāra, but does record the donation to a vihāra in Kalyan in the Gaṁdhārikabhami, presumably, as Buhler suggests, the bhami, Sanskrit bhrami, 'circle, circular array of troops, ie, place, bazaar' of the Gandhāras, likely the location of the Ambālikāvihāra. That there existed such a place of the Gandhāra people in Kalyan could possibly explain the ultimate origin of the

<u>Yavanas</u> recorded at other sites.

[77]Luders nos. 995, 1005, 1027, Sopara; 996, 1033, Chaul.

[78]Luders nos. 985, Nasik; 1020, Dhenukākaṭa.

CHAPTER FOUR. DONATIONS OF ENDOWMENTS.

Endowments to the Buddhist religious institutions were made to sustain the monastic life associated with the institutions. After the establishment of the institutions, means of support were instituted to provide those things thought necessary to sustain the population of monks resident in the caves, particularly during the canonical rainy season retreat. The Buddhist monkhood is at first a collection of religious ascetics, bhikṣus, supported by the donations of individual households located in the towns and villages close to the residences of the monks. As such, the day-to-day donations of the morning meal to a monk or the occasional gift of a monk's robe would go unrecorded in inscriptions meant to record specific and memorable meritorious acts. These inscriptions which record endowments are the acts of the same sections of the lay population which established the religious institution, when information is available as to the occupation or social position of the donors. The establishment of such large religious institutions implies, in the early centuries of Buddhism here under consideration, a more cenobitic form of Buddhist monasticism with at least some monks likely resident in the caves throughout the year. Endowments then represent a means of support developed by lay donors to sustain those institutions which they themselves had given permanence to through their donations of gifts.

Two types of endowments to the Buddhist religious institutions are evident from the inscriptions, those of land and of money. These two types of endowments will be examined as to the financial mechanisms, intended income and particular purpose of the endowments as recorded in the inscriptions. The two types of endowments will

be further considered in relation to the established groups of donors and to the spatial distribution of the sites here considered. The types of endowments, their donors and their spatial distribution will then be considered in relation to the known contemporary political and economic history of Western India.

Endowments of land to the Buddhist religious institutions are recorded in nineteen inscriptions.[1] These endowments of land can be further subdivided by the type of land endowed, either that of a field or of a village. Fourteen inscriptions record endowments of fields whereas only five inscriptions record endowments of villages.[2] Apart from a single inscription at Mahad, Luders no. 1073, which while fragmentary, appears to mention the endowment of fields located below the caves, endowments of fields are found only at Junnar, Kanheri and Nasik. The endowments of villages are found recorded only in inscriptions at Nasik and Karle.

Six inscriptions at Junnar record endowments of at least thirteen different fields. In all cases, these endowments are made by donors whose occupation and social position is unknown.[3] In all cases at Junnar, the fields endowed are stated as being of a certain measure, ranging from two to twenty nivartanas.[4] The precise modern equivalent to this ancient measure is unknown, the measure apparently varying at different times and places.[5] At Junnar the types of fields endowed, particularly of various types of trees, are in some cases specified.[6] One inscription at Junnar, Luders no. 1167, describes the intended nature of the endowment, in the manner of a simple gift, as a deyadhaṁma, a meritorious gift. This is the only example in the inscriptions where any type of endowment is described in this manner. The financial mechanisms of the endowments of fields are hinted at

in the Junnar inscriptions. In two cases, the income of the field endowed is invested with the gaṇa, ie, school, company, of the Aparājitas.[7] In no cases at Junnar is the purpose of the endowments of fields extant in the inscriptions.

At Kanheri, three endowments of fields are made, all by merchants in two cases from Kalyan and in one case from Sopara. One of these inscriptions, Luders no. 1027, the donation of the merchant from Sopara, while its reading is tentative, does appear to record the endowment of a field. One inscription, Luders no. 1000, describes the endowment of a field as an akhayanivi, Sanskrit akṣayanivī, 'a perpetual endowment'. This term, most commonly used to describe endowments of money is employed only three times in the inscriptions to describe endowments of land to the religious institutions.[9]

The two complete inscriptions at Kanheri recording endowments of fields detail the precise purpose of the donations. Both donations were made to provide robes (cīvarika) for the monks resident in the caves where the inscriptions were inscribed. One inscription, Luders no. 1000, designates that this endowment is to be given to the monk who spends the rainy season retreat in the cave. The amounts designated for robes are twelve kārṣāpaṇas (kāhāpana of the inscriptions) in Luders no. 1000 and sixteen kārṣāpaṇas in Luders no. 1024. The kārṣāpaṇa, the standard monetary unit in the inscriptions, is a silver coin.[10] In addition to the provision for robes, the monks were granted one kārṣāpaṇa per month.[11] This money was to be distributed, "in the season" as recorded in Luders no. 1024 and, "in the hot season" as recorded in Luders no. 1000.[12] A small amount

for structural repairs to the cave is recorded in Luders no. 1000. The purposes for which the endowments were intended, as recorded in these two endowments of fields at Kanheri, are those which are found, with minor variations, throughout the inscriptions which record endowments. Most often provision is made for robes and also for some small provision for monks, particularly for their rainy season retreat. The keeping of this rainy season retreat in a particular cave appears to have thus associated the monk with that cave and to have made him eligible for the provisions of the endowments found inscribed at the cave.

Four endowments of fields are recorded at Nasik. Three of these endowments are by members of contemporary ruling dynasties, two by Gautamīputra and one by Uṣavadāta. One inscription, Luders no. 1130, which records the gift of a cave by the fisherman Mugudāsa also records the endowment of a field for the inhabitants of the cave by Dhamanaṁdin, a lay worshipper. The establishment of the cave and the donation of any endowment for sustaining the inhabitants of the cave appears to have been a joint venture by these two lay persons. One inscription, Luders no. 1131, records that Uṣavadāta endowed a field bought for the substantial sum of four thousand kārṣāpaṇas from a certain Brahman. The purpose of this endowment is said to be for the provision of food (mukhāhāra). In this endowment, presumably the product of the land endowed rather than the revenue from the field or the interest from the invested revenue of the field is the actual income of the endowment. In addition to being a unique example in the inscriptions where this is so stated, the type of income from this endowment would tend to emphasize the increasingly cenobitic life associated with the religious institutions

here considered. While the paying of monks a monthly stipend seen earlier may perhaps violate the letter of the Buddhist monastic rules, the supplying of presumably large quantities of food to the monks is certainly a significant departure from the Vinaya.[13] How general this practice of monks receiving food rather than obtaining it through begging and among which sections of the monkhood this occurred cannot, unfortunately, be determined from this single example recorded in the inscriptions.

The two remaining fields endowed upon the Buddhist religious institution at Nasik were donated by Gautamīputra. One inscription, Luders no. 1125, records that a field of two hundred nivartanas, which had been "previously enjoyed" by Uṣavadāta was donated in the eighteenth year of an unspecified era, though likely the regnal era of Gautamīputra. Gautamīputra as the recent conqueror of Nasik and its environs and of Uṣavadāta's brother-in-law Nahapāna, must have thought it judicious to endow an institution, receiving the support of important sections of the contemporary society as detailed in the previous chapter, with a field which he specifically records as previously being in the possession of the family of his conquered rival. Six years after this endowment, in the year twenty-four, Gautamīputra records, in Luders no. 1126, that another field of one hundred nivartanas was exchanged for his previously endowed field of two hundred nivartanas because the, "field is not tilled nor is the village inhabited." Apart from the fact that this field represents an endowment of only half that of the previous, this inscription would appear to indicate Gautamīputra's continuation of his policy towards the religious institution at Nasik instituted after his conquest of Nahapāna.

The two endowments of fields at Nasik by Gautamīputra include the provision of immunities (parihāra) which members of the ruling dynasty could make along with their endowments of land. These immunities, identical in both cases, include: apāvesa, Sanskrit aprāveśya, the freedom from the entry of royal agents; anomasa, Sanskrit anāvamarśya, freedom from the troubles associated with the visit of a royal agent; aloṇakhādaka, Sanskrit alavaṇakhātaka, freedom from being dug for salt; and arathasavinayika, Sanskrit arāṣṭrasaṁvinayaka, freedom from the administrative control to which the district was subject.[14] Similar immunities are provided by the Sātavāhanas in endowments of villages recorded at Nasik and Karle.[15]

The endowments of villages to the Buddhist religious institutions are recorded in five inscriptions, three of which are found at Karle and two found at Nasik. All these endowments of villages are made by royal donors. While an individual could endow the religious institution with a field or with money, the donation of entire villages was certainly the prerogative of members of the ruling dynasty or their officers.[16] Similar endowments of villages to Buddhist religious institutions can be seen throughout the history of Buddhism in India. Nalanda in the seventh century A.D., for example, is said to be endowed by the reigning king with a hundred village.[17]

The villages given at Nasik are both recorded in inscriptions found in the same cave. Both endowments are from the time of Pulumāvi. One inscription, Luders no. 1123, dated in the year thirteen is an endowment of a village by the queen mother Balaśrī. the purpose of this endowment was for the embellishment (citaṇanimita) of the cave. The inscription records that the Sātavāhanas renounced

all of their rights to the village (savājatabhoganirathi). These rights, taxes etc., were presumably used to accomplish the embellishment of the cave. This inscription would also tend to emphasize the political importance of Sātavāhana endowments at Nasik as seen previously in Gautamīputra's endowment of a field. It is in this inscription that Balaśrī describes her late son Gautamīputra in a long series of adjectives unique in the inscriptions. Among other praises, Gautamīputra is described as having destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Kṣaharātas and having restored the Sātavāhanas.

The other endowment of a village at Nasik, by Pulumāvi in the year twenty-two, Luders no. 1124, is inscribed immediately below the previous endowment. This endowment, described as being an akhayanivi, records the exchange of villages. The reasons for this exchange of villages in not stated, perhaps the village had become uninhabited as is the case of the village in which the donated field is located, recorded in Luders no. 1126 also found at Nasik. This inscription implies the existence of a previous endowment which is not so recorded by an extant inscription. The strong possibility then exists that other donations of gifts and endowments were made to the Buddhist religious institutions but, for whatever reasons, are not recorded by inscriptions. The new village here donated is given the usual immunities. The purpose to which this endowment is intended is for the care of the cave (paṭisaṁtharana).

At Karle, the endowment of a village by the Mahārathi Somadeva in the year seven of Pulumāvi, recorded in Luders no. 1110, details the type of royal rights surrendered to the religious institution,

which are alluded to in Luders no. 1123 at Nasik. The village is stated to be endowed together with its taxes and income. The technical terminology here employed for taxes is kara and ukara, Sanskrit utkara, and for income deya and meya. The exact signigicance of these terms is uncertain, but it appears the former two refer to taxes in money while the latter two refer to taxes in kind from the product of the village.[18]

One inscription at Karle, Luders no. 1099, records the endowment of the village of Karajika by Uṣavadāta to the Saṅgha of the four quarters. This same village, although spelled at Karajaka, is recorded in Luders no. 1105 as being endowed upon the Mahāsaṅghikas. This endowment, described as monk's land (bhikhuhala), is a Sātavāhana donation, likely of Gautamīputra. These two endowments are similar in character to the endowment of a field previously in the possession of Uṣavadāta, as recorded at Nasik, Luders no. 1125. Here, however, the village in question is endowed upon the religious institution twice, whereas the field donated at Nasik is stated by Gautamīputra as merely being in the possession of Uṣavadāta. The only difference between the two endowments of the village here recorded at Kārle is the recipient of the endowment; Gautamīputra dedicated the village to the Mahāsaṅghikas rather than to the monks of the four quarters.

The donative activities of royal donors at Karle is limited, these three endowments of villages being their only recorded donations. Nevertheless, it is apparent that a situation similar to that of Nasik, well supported by royal donors, is existant at Karle. Gautamīputra is particular to legitimize an endowment of Uṣavadāta and in addition to distinguish his re-endowment from that of Uṣavadāta's original endowment. At Kārle then, it would appear

that endowments to the religious institutions were again used by the Sātavāhanas to emphasize their reconquest of Western India. It is significant that all the indications of the Sātavāhana-Kṣatrapa conflict in the inscriptions should be found in endowments recorded at Nasik and Karle, located on the routes to the coast as they pass through the most strategic passes, close to two of the most important upland towns, Nasik and Dhenukākaṭa. All royal endowments, in fact, as can be seen from Table Five at the end of the chapter, are to be found at these two sites. The political control of these areas along with the support of the important institutions in these areas, that is the religious institutions and their donors, appears from the inscriptions to have been essential for any dynasty's control of Western India at this time.[19]

Endowments of money are recorded in eleven inscriptions found at Junnar, Nasik and Kanheri. The usual form of these inscriptions is to designate the endowment as an akhayanivi, a perpetual endowment, which is closely followed by the amount of the endowment expressed in kārṣāpaṇas.[20] Seven inscriptions follow closely this form, but while they are donations designated as an akhayanivi, amounts of money are either not given or are missing due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription.[21] The term akhayanivi is used in inscriptions from Nasik and Kanheri which are not endowments of money.[22] This usage is, however, very limited, with akhayanivi more often referring to endowments of money where enough information is available to classify the endowments. These seven endowments which are designated as 'other akhayanivi' in Table Four, while likely endowments of money, are grouped separately as a subdivision of endowments of money because the nature of the endowment cannot be

ascertained with absolute certainty.

The amounts of the endowments of money are specified in eight inscriptions.[23] The endowments range from a low of one hundred kārṣāpaṇas endowed by a merchant at Nasik, to a high of over three thousand five hundred kārṣāpaṇas endowed by a gaṇapaka also at Nasik. Usavadata endows a total of three thousand kārṣāpaṇas at Nasik, recorded in Luders no. 1133. This substantial endowment, in addition to his endowment of a field bought for four thousand kārṣāpaṇas, form the largest total endowment, where the value of the endowment can be determined by amounts recorded in the inscriptions. The generosity of Uṣavadāta at Nasik would then also tend to emphasize the importance of this region and its important religious institution in the Sātavāhana-Kṣatrapa conflict. The Kṣatrapas held Nasik for probably little more than half a century and although followers of the Brahmanical religion, they made such substantial endowments at Nasik.[24] Individual merchants, particularly at Kanheri, endowed amounts in the two to three hundred kārṣāpaṇa range.[25] The value of such endowments in the contemporary society cannot be determined with any accuracy, however they must represent considerable amounts for such individual donors. Three endowments originally recorded amounts which are now missing due to the fragmentary nature of the inscriptions.[26]

The activities of guilds are of particular importance in the financial mechanisms associated with endowments of money. One inscription, from Junnar, Luders no. 1165, while very fragmentary records endowments with the guilds of the bamboo workers (vasakara, Sanskrit vaṁśakāra) and with the metalworkers (kāsākāra, Sanskrit kaṁsyakāra). While the amounts of money invested with these guilds

are not extant in these inscriptions, the returns from the investments are recorded as one and three quarters per cent monthly from the guild of bamboo workers and one quarter per cent monthly with the guild of the metalworkers. Endowments of money are recorded as being invested with guilds in two inscriptions from Nasik. One, Luders no. 1137, records endowments of money invested in four separate guilds. The guilds include the potters (kularika), the oilmillers (tilapiṣaka) and workers fabricating hydraulic engines (odayaṁtrika).[27] The name of one of the guilds with which an endowment of five hundred kārṣāpaṇas was invested is missing due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription. The return expected from the investment of the endowments in these guilds is not stated in the inscriptions. Two weavers guilds (kolikanikāya) at Nasik were invested with endowments of one and two thousand kārṣāpaṇas by Uṣavadāta as recorded in Luders no. 1133. These amounts were to bear interest[28] of three quarters of a per cent and one per cent monthly respectively.[29] This inscription also states that only the interest from the endowment is to be paid and that the capital is not to be repaid by the guilds. An endowment of two hundred kārṣāpaṇas at Kanheri, recorded in Luders no. 1024, is also to bear interest at the rate of one per cent monthly. It is not stated in this inscription which guild or other organization was to pay this interest. The purpose to which the accrued interest from the endowments is intended is for cloth money for the monks. It is interesting to see interest paid by guilds of weavers, on capital which they need not repay, for the purchase of cloth. The provision of money for cloth for monks' robes is the major purpose of donations which are, or likely are, endowments of money when the purpose of the

endowment is recorded in the inscriptions.[30]

The majority of firmly established and likely endowments of money are to be found at Kanheri, twelve as opposed to six at Nasik and Karle. Kanheri also has the most donations of money recorded as being made by individual merchants. Kanheri, in fact, has by far the most endowments of all kinds made by commercial donors. Endowments of any kind by royal donors are, however, lacking at Kanheri. Endowments by royal donors predominate at Nasik and Karle. This is much the same type of trend as detected in the general analysis of donors in Chapter Three. Such trends cannot be detected at Junnar because of the fragmentary nature of its inscriptions.

The presence of donations by royal donors at the upland sites of Nasik and Karle appears to have been, at least in part, a factor of the Sātavāhana-Kṣatrapa conflict as the inscriptions themselves would tend to indicate. The types of donors and their endowments at Kanheri would also appear to have a relation with this conflict. Firstly, it should be remembered that Kanheri is a later site, dating to after the Sātavāhana-Kṣatrapa conflict. This would mean that any particular developments at Kanheri would have arisen because of political and economic factors resulting from the re-establishment of Sātavāhana rule. Fortunately a passage in the Periplus Maris Erythraei helps to explain the situation. It is states that Kalyan was,

> ...a city which was raised to the ranks of a regular mart in the times of the elder Saraganus, but after Sandanes became its master its trade was put under the severest restrictions; for if Greek vessels even by accident enter its ports, a guard is put on board and they are taken to Barygaza.[31]

Saraganus is Sātakarṇi and Sandanes, presumably the younger Saraganus, is supposed to be Sundara Sātakarṇi, a king mentioned in the Purāṇas

not recorded by inscription who would date to the period of Sātavāhana decline. The Periplus appears to date from the time of Nahapāna.[32] This passage would then suggest that Kalyan was under the rule of a local Sātavāhana ruler but was being blockaded by the forces of Nahapāna.[33]

The relation between Kanheri and Kalyan was close as the inscriptions indicate. Kalyan, as was described in Chapter Two, occupies an important geographical position as a coastal terminus of the routes from the interior of Western India; the routes on which Nasik, Junnar and Karle are located. The large number of donations by commercial donors and the large number of endowments of money by these donors would then be a consequence of the control of the upland passes as indicated indicated in the inscriptions from Nasik and Karle, and the resulting favourable conditions for international trade created at Kalyan in the first century A.D. with the re-establishment of Sātavāhana rule throughout Western India. The international trade may have had a part in the inception of the excavation of much of Kanheri for the Periplus states that Kalyan was made a regular mart only in the time of the elder Saraganus. Perhaps, this international trade was also responsible for the general improvement in the economic conditions and increased economic activity throughout Western India in the first and second centuries A.D. as reflected by the numbers of merchants who made donations at all the sites considered here. This, however, cannot be directly confirmed on the evidence of the inscriptions as would appear the case in the specific example of Kanheri. It is known that international trade to the western coast of India did increase in the first century A.D. with the discovery and use of the monsoon winds.[34]

The Periplus records the imports of this coast as wine, metals, gold and silver specie and other luxury and finished goods.[35] The exports of this coast included precious stones, spices and cloth, particularly cotton.[36]

Endowments are a particular type of donation to the Buddhist religious institution. As such, they form only a small part of the donative activities associated with the religious institutions here considered. Endowments are donations made necessary by the establishment of large religious institutions in such permanent residences as represented by the cave excavations. They are then, a new, perhaps more formal, way for the lay population to undertake their meritorious duty of the support of the monks resident in the caves. Endowments do also appear to have been donated at particular sites for political and economic reasons specific to a site. The interpretations presented here are tentative, endowments never being inscribed with a view to record such political and economic developments. Nevertheless, such an interpretation would seem justified on the basis of all sources available for the period under consideration.

TABLE 4. Endowments by Sites

	Nasik	Junnar	Kanheri	Karle	Mahad
Field	4	6	3[b]	-	1
Village	2	-	-	3	-
Money	3[a]	2	6[b]	-	-
Other *akhayanivi*	-	1	6[c]	-	-
Others	1[a]	-	2[c]	-	-

notes: [a]Luders no. 1133 twice.
[b]Luders no. 1024 twice.
[c]Luders no. 998 twice.

TABLE 5. Donors of Endowments by Sites

	Nasik	Junnar	Kanheri	Karle	Mahad
Royal	6	-	-	3	-
Commercial	2	-	8	-	1
Saṅgha	-	-	4	-	-
Others	1	9	3	-	-

[1]Refer to Appendix A for detailed list.

[2]Luders no. 998 from Kanheri records the endowment of a house in Kalyan. This is a type of land endowment, however being the single instance where a building is endowed, this endowment has been included in the residual 'other' group. Luders no. 1010 also from Kanheri has also been included here as not enough information is available to classify this endowment. Table 4 details the type of endowment by site group.

[3]Table 5 details the groups of donors of endowments by site group.

[4]Luders nos. 1158, 15; 1162, 20, 9; 1163, 26, 3; 1164, 2; 1166, 2; 1167, 4, 8, 12. Three measures are fragmentary and lacking.

[5]see D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy (Delhi, 1966), p. 409, where he quotes Sanskrit authorities to arrive at equivalents ranging from one-half to four and three-quarters acres per nivartana.

[6]Luders nos. 1162, 1166, Karañja, a medicinal tree; 1162, Banyan; 1164, Mango; 1163, Jambu, Palmyra, Sāla; following Luders.

[7]Luders nos. 1158, 1163. The significance of the title Aparājita, the unconquered of the West, is unknown.

[8]Luders no. 1162. The sense of this and of the two preceeding inscriptions is that supplied by Luders.

[9]Luders nos. 998, Kanheri, akhayanivi data for building, 1000, Kanheri, akhayanivi dina for field; 1124, akhayanivihetu twice for exchange of fields.

[10]The amounts designated for robes are expressed only in terms of numbers. That the unit referred to are in fact kārṣāpaṇas is by the implication of calculated interest rates found in endowments of money, particularly Luders no. 1133, Nasik. This inscription, in a postscript referring to a donation to the Brahmans records that thirty-five kārṣāpaṇas equal one suvarṇa, thus implying that a kārṣāpaṇa was a silver coin.

[11]In these examples, one kārṣāpaṇa is expressed in terms of a paḍika, Sanskrit pratika.

[12]The donation of one kārṣāpaṇa per month in the hot season refers also the the period of monastic retreat for Senart supposes, "that at that time and in that place the annual retreat began already in Āṣāḍha, ie, still in summer." Epigraphia Indica 8, p. 83.

[13]see Vinayapiṭaka, translated by T.W. Rhys David and Hermann Oldenburg (Oxford, 1881), Pātimokkha, 38, "Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall eat food, whether hard or soft, that has been put by - that is a Pācittiya (offense)." p. 40; Cullavagga, VII, 2, 5, where the ascetic Devadatta is brough food each morning by Prince Ajātasattu and is

condemned by the Buddha. The citations here given are from the Vinaya of the Theravādins and particular points may vary amongst the many schools previously seen to be represented in the cave excavations, nevertheless the general monastic regulations are well illustrated.

[14]see Sircar, op. cit., p. 390.

[15]Luders no. 1124, Nasik; 1105, Karle, fragmentary following pavesa.

[16]Luders no. 1110 is the donation of a Mahārathi of Pulumāvi.

[17]Hwui Li, The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, translated by Samuel Beal (London, 1911), pp. 112-113.

[18]see Senart, Epigraphia Indica 7, p. 62, where kara is translated as "taxes, ordinary," ukara, "taxes extraordinary," deya, "income, fixed," and meya, "income, proportional." Similarly, Sircar, op. cit., p. 390 translates kara as "tax," ukara as "minor tax?," deya as "periodical offering to be offered the king," and meya as "the king's share of grains." The provisions of deya and meya might imply the supplying of food to the religious institution at Karle as is recorded at Nasik, Luders no. 1131. The purpose for which this endowment at Karle is intended is not, however, stated. The income of the product of the village could have been sold to provide robes for example, as recorded in other endowments.

[19]The importance of these passes for the political control of Western India may also by way of comparison be seen from the series of Maratha fortresses throughout the Western Ghāṭs. Here also, the presence of the contemporary dynasty was made very visible, although in this case by the presence of military fortifications common throughout India at this later date, see Surendra Nath Sen, The Military System of the Marathas (Bombay, 1958), pp. 79-95.

[20]Luders nos. 1006, 1007, 1024, Kanheri; 1133, 1137, 1139, Nasik; 1152, Junnar; closely follow this form. Luders nos. 1003, 1011, 1018, Kanheri and 1165, Junnar are grouped as endowments of money upon analysis of their contents.

[21]for example, Luders no. 1155, Junnar, fragmentary after akhayanivi; 988, Kanheri, donation of a gift together with a perpetual endowment, sa-akhayanivi.

[22]see note 9.

[23]Luders nos. 1003, 300; 1006, 200; 1011, 300; 1018, 1600 mentioned by Buhler as contained in untranslated, fragmentary addition to this inscription; 1024, 200; 1137, 3,000; 1137, 3,500+; 1139, 100.

[24]That the Kṣatrapas were Brahmanists is obvious from Luders no. 1131, 1135, Nasik. The various donations of villages and cows etc. to the Brahmans in addition of Uṣavadāta's public works recorded in

the inscriptions, although interesting in themselves, have not been directly considered in this study of the Buddhist religious institution. The Sātavāhanas were also Brahmanists, see Luders no. 1123, Nasik. The religious affiliation of the contemporary ruling dynasties, stated in donations to Buddhist institutions and inscribed on their walls, would also tend to indicate that these donations were in some way matters of state policy.

[25]Luders nos. 1003, 1006, 1011, 1024.

[26]Luders nos. 1007, 1137, 1152. One inscription, Luders no. 1133, in addition to an endowment of three thousand kārṣāpaṇas by Uṣavadāta, mentions the figure eight thousand in connection with cocanut trees. Buhler takes this as the price for the trees, although kārṣāpaṇas are not mentioned. Senart and Luders take this as the number of the trees donated. This interpretation would make this a type of endowment of land. The question here is whether mūla refers to "value, capital" of the trees (Buhler) or the stems of the trees (Senart). Because of the uncertainty of interpretation of this inscription, this endowment has been included in the residual 'others' group in Table 4.

[27]Kularika is likely Sanskrit, kulāla; tilapiṣaka would be Sanskrit taila-; odayaṁtrika would be a derivative audayantrika from the Sanskrit udayayantra. The o- in this words is read by Senart, as is the term's translation, see Senart Epigraphia Indica 8, pp. 88-89.

[28]Interest is vadhi of the inscriptions, Sanskrit vṛddhi.

[29]Interest rates are expressed as for example, paḍike sate, one pratika (ie, kārṣāpaṇa) in a hundred (kārṣāpaṇas). The calculation of interest rates monthly is not directly expressed but can be understood by comparison to Luders no. 1165, Junnar. The interpretation of Buhler in this and the following example from Kanheri, Luders no. 1024, is incorrect, see Senart, Epigraphia Indica 8, pp. 83-84.

[30]Luders nos. 1133, 1139, Nasik; 1152, Junnar; 998, 999, 1003, 1006, 1007, 1009, 1020, 1024, Kanheri.

[31]Periplus 52.

[32]Periplus 41. For details of the revised reading of the transliteration of Nahapāna's name see J.A.B. Palmer, "Periplus Maris Erythraei: The Indian Evidence as to the Date," Classical Quarterly (1947), p. 137.

[33]Periplus 51, also indicates that Kalyan was blockaded when commodities from Paithan and Ter, "are carried down on wagons to Barygaza (Broach) along roads of extreme difficulty." The lines of communication in Western India, as analyzed in Chapter Two, would indicate that Kalyan is the natural seaport for these interior centers. The merchants must have had some good reason to make such a long journey on bad roads to bring their goods to port.

[34]Periplus 39.

[35]Periplus 49, for Broach's imports and exports.

[36]For the spice trade see J. Innes Miller, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire (Oxford, 1969), for pepper, pp. 80-86. For cotton, see, op. cit., pp. 136-137, 196 for its importance in the Roman Empire after the first century A.D.

The trade in cloth, particularly cotton, may have had a particular importance in Western India, as may be indicated by Uṣavadāta's generous endowments invested in weavers guilds. These guilds could keep and use the capital for their own purposes. Also, the purpose of this and many other endowments was for the purchase of cloth for monk's robes. It may be speculated that the encouragement of cloth production at this time was of some importance for the the economy of Western India, perhaps even a matter of state concern and policy. Some support is given to this suggestion by a story recorded in a ninth century Chinese work, the Yu Yang Tsa Ts'u by Tuan Ch'êng Shih, being a collection of anecdotes and stories. It is recorded that Kaniṣka was enraged to find the mark of a hand on two pieces of fine cloth. Upon equiry, he found that such a mark was found on cloth sold in the realm of king Sātavāhana. The story further records that this insült to Kaniṣka was the cause of a punitive expedition to the Deccan mounted by him. This story is recorded very late and must be taken with some suspicion, yet it must have some origin in fact to be so specific. For the text and translation of this story, in addition to its continuation in the Arabic tradition, see, Ed. Huber, "Etudes de Littérature Bouddhique," Bulletin École Française d'Extrême Orient, volume 6 (1906), "Kaniṣka et Sātavāhana," pp. 37-39.

CHAPTER FIVE. CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined some of the earliest sources for the social and economic history of the Buddhist religious institution. These sources, the inscriptions from the cave excavations of Western India, describe in some detail the methods of support of the religious institution at this early period. The general conclusions concerning the types of donations and the method and purposes of the donations here described are in many ways similar to other ancient and contemporary examples which have been reported concerning the method of suport of the Buddhist religious institution. The broad outlines of the religious basis of such donations, the acquisition of merit, and of the social and economic consequences of this merit acquisition through giving has only in recent years been recognized as critical to the understanding of Buddhist societies.[1] This awareness has particularly developed in studies of contemporary Buddhist societies in Sri Lanka, South East Asia and Tibet.[2] Scant attention, however, has been given to the historical development of the process and consequences of donations to the Buddhist religious institution.[3]

The inscriptions here considered are important because they are chronologically the first spatially differentiated yet historically connected corpus of data on donations to the Buddhist religious institution available for study. This is not to claim that the inscriptions here considered describe the origin of the donative process yet, I think, they are the only available starting point for the study of this very important element of Buddhism. Indeed, this donative process likely evolved very early in Buddhism and had its origins in the general cultural context of India, being not

specially Buddhist at all. Any statements about the particular origin of the donative process in Buddhism must however remain mostly speculation due to the lack of substantive source materials. Earlier epigraphical materials, such as exist, from the stūpas of Bharut, Sanchi and Pauni would indicate the presence of similar donative processes as found in the inscriptions here considered. These earlier inscriptions, however, are short with generally little information as to the donations and donors. They are all donations here designated as simple gifts. These inscriptions nevertheless indicate an established system of donations if not the elaboration of this system seen through the donations of endowments from the cave excavations. An analysis of the Sanchi inscriptions, the inscriptions from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, in addition to the inscriptions considered in this study, would broaden the geographical distribution of sites dating to the period before the fourth century A.D. With the relative chronological sequence of these sites, some development of the types of donations and the methods and purposes of these donations might perhaps be indicated in this early period. The source material is available, I think, to detail the Indian origins of the elaborations of the donative process in Buddhism, if not the origins of the process itself.

The basic forms of donations to the Buddhist religious institution were then established in India at an early date with the details seen in the inscriptions here considered the most common seen later. The general outlines of the donative process then being established, the elaborations and adaptations of this process in later Buddhist societies can be examined. Such a society would be Sri Lanka in the Anuradhapura period which follows closely chronologically the period

here considered and which has close social and religious connections with peninsular India, particularly with Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda.[4] Other areas for such a study would include North India in the Gupta and post Gupta periods, Burma in the Pagan period and wherever a series of sites and bodies of inscriptions is available. Any analysis undertaken, however, having first detailed the local developments of the basic forms of donations must then examine such epigraphical evidence in terms of the particular social and economic developments of the area and society under consideration. Within the general characteristics common to a particular area and society, the types of donations, the process and purpose of these donations and the groups of donors will vary even from site to site. Such variations will form, as in this study, an important element of the analysis of any corpus of inscriptions.

The inscriptions from the cave excavations of Western India form a corpus of inscriptions closely related in form and purpose. The types of donations and the groups of donors have been closely detailed. The general donative process, having been established on the basis of the inscriptional evidence, has been related to the spatial distribution of the sites here considered. The distribution of the types of donations andgroups of donors has shown the particular significance of individual sites. Particular characteristics of individual sites are of special importance when considered together with the known contemporary politicaland economic history of Western India.

The inscriptions here considered reveal the importance of donations by merchants for the support of the Buddhist religious institution. A substantial percentage of donations at each site

are by such mercantile donors. The spatial distribution of the cave excavations, particularly the relationships between coastal Kanheri and the upland sites of Nasik, Junnar and Karle, emphasizes the importance of mercantile donors. The merchants of the towns of Nasik, Junnar, Dhenukākaṭa and Kalyan, by virtue of the favourable commercial locations of their towns, had economic surpluses which could be donated to local cave excavations. The relation between town and cave excavation is very important for as D.D. Kosambi has remarked, "Trade was large only in the aggregate, its density noticeably important only at a few emporia."[5] This relationship between town and cave excavation is apparent from the inscriptions at all major sites except Kuda. The geographical position of Kuda as a coastal terminus for a southern route through the Western Ghāṭs, as indicated by the location of sites such as Mahad, would indicate some relationship with some coastal town, such as the relationship between Kanheri and Kalyan. The importance of Kalyan as a port and a center of international trade is reflected in donations made at Kanheri. The number of endowments of money made at Kanheri would well indicate the economic surplus created in Western India by this international seaborne trade, particularly after the re-establishment of Sātavāhana rule in the second century A.D.

Royal donors also had an important part in the support of the Buddhist religious institution. This royal support is, however, more important at particular sites such as Nasik and to a lesser degree Karle. The analysis of donations of endowments in terms of the spatial distribution of the sites has indicated the reasons for the degree of royal support at individual sites. It has been suggested from an analysis of these royal endowments that the ruling

dynasties in effect used their donations to secure the support of the religious institution and thus its lay, particularly mercantile, supporters. These royal donations were a factor of the dynasties' efforts to gain effective control over those trade emporia, such as Nasik, which are located at critical locations on the passes which lead from the upland interior regions of the Deccan to the coastal Konkan. The changing political conditions in Western India, the Sātavāhana-Kṣatrapa conflict, was what gave impetus to the donations by royal donors.

Trade which created the economic surplus necessary for the support of the religious institutions by mercantile donors was also that which the royal dynasties endeavoured to control by their occupation of the important trade emporia associated with the cave excavations. The control of the trade emporia and the routes between these emporia then engendered further support for the religious institutions. The relationship between the ruling dynasty and the religious institution, being mutually beneficial, would emphasize the political importance of the religious institutions in Western India at this time. The ruling dynasties were not by persuasion Buddhist yet support for the religious institutions was in some way a matter of state policy necessary for the control of the most important centers of Western India, those located on the passes through the Western Ghāṭs. The support of Buddhism by the ruling dynasty would become essential for the existence of the religion at later times in India and particularly in Sri Lanka and in South East Asian Buddhist societies. The identity between religion and state becomes complete in Tibet. In the area and time considered here Buddhism was not in any way a state religion. The inscriptions,

perhaps intentionally, indicate the ruling dynasties' concern for their Brahmanical subjects. Yet, I think, it is through the economic support of the religious institution by the donative process here analyzed, caused by whatever particular circumstances, that the origin for the close relationship between religion and state in later Buddhist societies is to be found.

The inscriptions reveal the general donative process throughout the cave excavations of Western India. Particular attention has been given to the causes and consequences of this donative process in the closely related sites of Kanheri, Nasik, Junnar and Karle. Such developments as the royal donations at Nasik and the resulting mercantile donations at Kanheri have, by the nature of the evidence from the inscriptions, become the focus of this study. The southern sites of Kuda etc. and the interior sites of Ajanta and Pitalkhora, while seen from their inscriptions to be part of the general donative process, have not entered into such a detailed examination of the causes and consequences of these donations. The nature of the inscriptions at these sites, being almost exclusively simple gifts, precludes this type of analysis. These southern and interior groups of cave excavations then, while part of the general trends seen throughout Western India, are separate regions with most likely different specific political and economic factors present. This has been suggested when the donors at these sites have been examined. The royal donors at the southern sites, for example, would indicate the autonomous nature of this region. Further research, particularly on the spatial distribution of sites with inscriptions and those without, particularly small excavations, is certainly desirable for these southern and interior cave excavations.

The question as to why the economic surplus generated by trade was use in part by merchants, as indeed by all donors as they are all part of a society enjoying favourable economic conditions, to so lavishly support Buddhism must be seen as part of the religion. The acquisition of merit through the act of giving was then as it is today the essential religious act of the lay person in Buddhism. Religious giving on all levels, from the giving of alms to the establishment of a monastery, is the most important social contact between the lay person and monk. The work of the anthropologist in contemporary Buddhist societies, particularly Burma and Thailand, has made this abundantly clear. The percentage of income, even by the poorest villager, spent on religious giving is very high.[6] The question is rather, why were the donors and particularly merchants supporters of Buddhism. The inscriptions themselves provide no answers and any suggestions must be speculation. Buddhism was the religion that merchants, newly prosperous but relatively low on the traditional Indian ritual scale, could actively participate in. The acquisition of merit through the act of giving was something the merchants and other donors could not only participate in, but as inhabitants of these developing centers of trade, were uniquely <u>able</u> to do. Buddhism and the excavation of the caves was then an expression of the donors' actual wealth and power in the ancient society of Western India.

[1]see Melford E. Spiro, "Buddhism and Economic Action in Burma," _American Anthropologist_ volume 68 (1966), pp. 1163-1173. Spiro, _Buddhism and Society_ (1970), pp. 103-111, 453-568.

[2]see André Bareau, _La Vie et L'Organisation des Communautés Bouddhiques Modernes de Ceylan_ (Pondichery, 1957), pp. 73-76. Spiro, _Buddhism and Society_. Robert J. Miller, "Buddhist Monastic Economy: The Jisa Mechanism," _Comparative Studies in Society and History_ volume 3 (1960-61), pp. 427-438, for Tibetan Buddhism.

[3]André Bareau, "Indian and Ancient Chinese Buddhism: Institutions Analogous to the Jisa," _Comparative Studies in Society and History_ volume 3 (1960-61), pp. 443-451, surveys the sources for such a study, including the inscriptions considered here. It is interesting to note that Bareau undertook this survey as historical confirmation of Miller's observations of Tibetan Buddhism.

[4]see Walpola Rahula, _History of Buddhism in Ceylon_ (Colombo, 1956), pp. 141 ff. for donations. Some details are remarkably similar to those considered here, for example the presence of endowments of money after the fourth-fifth centuries A.D., p. 144.

[5]"The Basis of Ancient Indian History (II)," _Journal of the American Oriental Society_ volume 75 (1955), p. 228.

[6]Spiro, _Buddhism and Society_, reports from thirty to forty per cent of the income in the villages studies, p. 459.

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APPENDIX A. DONATIONS.

Group I

A. Pitalkhora - 1. Gifts

Luders no. or other designation	terminology	gift of
1187	dāna	pillar
1188	dāna	pillar
1189	dāna	-
1191	dāna	cave
1192	dāna	cave
1193	dāna	cave
Deshpande A	kata	sculpture
Deshpande B	dāna	pillar
Deshpande D	kata	sculpture

2. Others

1190	fragmentary
Deshpande C	fragmentary

B. Ajanta - 1. Gifts

1197	dāna	cave door
1198	deyadhama	cave
Dhavalikar no. 1	dāna	wall
Dhavalikar no. 2	dāna	ceiling ?

Group II

A. Nasik - 1. Gifts

1127	deyadhama	cave, cells
1128	deyadhama	cave
1129	deyadhama	cave
1132	deyadhaṁma	cell
1134	deyadhaṁma	cell
1138	deyadhaṁma	cave
1140	kārita	cave, cisterns
1141	niṭhapāpita	caitya
1142	dāna	entrance
1143	kārita	vedika rail, sculpture
1144	kārita	cave
1145	deyadharmma	cave
1146	-	completion of cave
1147	kārita	cave
1148	-	cave, cistern
1149	-	cistern

2. Gifts and Endowments

Luders no. or other designation	terminology a. gifts b. endowments	a. gift of b. endowment of
1123	a. kārita deyadhama b. dadāti	a. cave b. village
1131	a. kārita b. data	a. cave, cistern b. field
1133	a. - b. akṣayanivi	a. cave b. money
1139	a. deyadhaṁma b. akhayanivi	a. cave b. money

3. Endowments

1124	akhayanivi	villages
1125	data	field
1126	dadama	field
1130	data	field
1137	akṣayanivī	money

4. Others

1122	nothing beyond date
1135	fragmentary
1136	fragmentary

Group III

A. Junnar - 1. Gifts

1150	deyadhama	cistern
1151	deyadhama	reception room
1153	deyadhaṁma	caitya
1154	deyadhama	cisterns
1156	deyadhama	hall front
1157	deyadhaṁma	cave
1169	deyadhaṁma	cave
1170	-	cave ?
1171	deyadhama	cave ?
1172	-	cave ?
1173	deyadhama	cistern
1174	deyadhama	hall
1175	deyadhama	cave
1176	deyadhama	cistern
1177	deyadhaṁma	cistern
1178	deyadhaṁma	caitya
1179	deyadhama	caitya
1180	deyadhama	cave, cistern

1181	dāna	cave ?
1182	deyadhama	refectory
1183	dāna	caitya

2. Gifts and Endowments

1152	a. deyadhama b. akhayanivi	a. cistern, cave b. money
1155	a. deyadhama b. akhayanivi	a. cave, cistern b. money ?

3. Endowments

1158	deyadhama	field
1162	-	field
1163	-	fields
1164	-	field
1165	-	money
1166	-	fields
1167	-	fields

Group IV

A. Kanheri - 1. Gifts

M. Leese	deyadhama	cistern
985	deyadhama	seat
986	deyadhaṁma	cistern
987	patiṭhāpita	caitya
993	deyadhaṁma	stūpa
994	deyadharma	cistern
995	deyadhama	cistern
996	deyadhaṁma	cistern
1001	patiṭhāpita	cave
1002	patiṭhāpita	cave
1005	deyadhama	cave
1012	deyadhama	cave
1013	deyadhama	cave, cistern
1014	deyadhama	cave, cistern
1015	deyadhama ?	cave, cistern
1017	n/a	cave
1019	n/a	cave, cistern
1021	deyadhama	cave
1025	n/a	cave, cistern
1031	deyadhaṁma	taloka ?
1032	deyadhama	path
1033	n/a	path

2. Gifts and Endowments

988	a. deyadhama b. akhayanivi	a. various gifts at Sopara Kalyan, Paithan b. money ?

998	a. deyadhama	a. cave, cistern, benches
	b. akhayanivi	b. money ?
999	a. deyadhama	a. cave
	b. akhayanivi	b. money ?
1000	a. deyadhaṁma	a. cave, cistern
	b. akhayanivi	b. field
1003	a. n/a	a. cave, cistern
	b. n/a	b. money
1006	a. deyadhama	a. cave, cistern
	b. akhayanivi	b. money
1007	a. deyadhama	a. cave, cistern, hall
	b. akhayanivi	b. money
1009	a. n/a	a. cave, cistern
	b. n/a	b. money ?
1010	a. n/a	a. cave ?
	b. n/a	b. -
1011	a. n/a	a. cave ?
	b. n/a	b. money
1016	a. deyadhama	a. cave, cistern
	b. akhayanivi	b. money ?
1018	a. deyyadhamrṁma	a. cave, cistern
	b. -	b. money
1020	a. deyadhama	a. cave, cistern
	b. akhayanivi	b. money ?
1024	a. deyadhama	a. cave, hall
	b. akhayanivi	b. money, field

3. Endowment

1027	n/a	field

Group V

A. Karle - 1. Gifts

1087	pariniṭhapita	cave
1088	dāna	lion-pillar
1089	dāna	vedika rail, sculpture
1090	dāna	cave door
1091	dāna	pillar
1092	kata	door
1093	dāna	pillar
1094	dāna	pillar

1095	dāna	pillar
1096	-	pillar
1097	dāna	pillar
1098	-	cave ?
1101/2	deyadhama	sculpture
1103	dāna	vedika rail
1104	dāna	vedika rail
1106	deyadhama	hall
1107	deyadhama	cave, cistern
1108	deyadhama	cave ?
Vats no. 1	dāna	pillar
Vats no. 2	deyadhama	pillar
Vats no. 3	dāna	pillar
Vats no. 4	dāna	pillar
Vats no. 5	kārita	pillar
Vats no. 6	dāna	pillar
Vats no. 7	dāna	pillar
Vats no. 8	dāna	pillar
Vats no. 9	dāna	pillar
Vats no. 10	dāna	pillar
Vats no. 11	-	pillar
Vats no. 12	dāna	pillar
EI vol. 24	dāna	pillar
Kosambi	dāna	pillar

2. Endowment

1099	data	village
1100	data	village
1105	dadama	village

B. Bhaja - 1. Gifts

1078	dāna	cell
1079	deyadhama	cistern
1080	-	stūpa
1081	-	stūpa
1082	-	stūpa
1083	-	stūpa
1084	dana	cell ?
1085	-	stūpa
Deshpande no. 1	prasāda	wooden rib ?

C. Selarvadi - 1. Gifts

1121	deyadhaṁma	cave
EI vol 28	deyadhama	caitya

D. Kondane - 1. Gifts

1071	kata	sculpture

E. Bedsa - 1. Gifts

1109	dāna	cave ?

1110	kārita	stūpa
1111	deyadhama	cistern

Group VI

A. Kuda - 1. Gifts

1037	deyadhaṁma	cave
1038	-	cave
1039	deyadhama	cistern
1040	-	cave
1041	deyadhaṁma	cave, cistern
1042	-	cave ?
1045	deyadhaṁma	cave
1048	deyadhaṁma	cave
1049	deyadhama	cistern
1050	deyadhaṁma	caitya
1051	deyadhaṁma	cave
1053	-	cave
1054	deyadhaṁma	cave
1055	deyadhaṁma	cave
1056	-	bathing tank
1058	deyadhaṁma	caitya, cell
1060	deyadhaṁma	cave
1061	deyadhaṁma	cistern
1062	deyadhaṁma	cave
1063	deyadhaṁma	cave
1064	deyadhaṁma	cistern
1065	deyadhaṁma	cave
1066	deyadhaṁma	cave

B. Nadsur - 1. Gifts

1067	kata	cave ?
1068	-	cave ?

C. Mahad - 1. Gifts

1072	deyadhaṁma	cave, caitya, cells

2. Gifts and Endowments

1073	a. deyadhaṁma b. -	a. cave, caitya b. field

D. Kol - 1. Gifts

1075	deyadhama	cave
1076	deyadhama	cave
1077	deyadhama	cave

E. Karadh - 1. Gifts

1184	deyadhama	cave

APPENDIX B. DONORS.

Group I - Pitalkhora and Ajanta

A. Royal and Administrative

Luders no. or other designation	title	name	place of origin
1189	royal physician (rājaveja)	Magila	-
1190	royal physician	Magila	-
1191	royal physician	Magila	-
1192	daughter of royal physician	Datā	-
1193	son of royal physician	Dataka	-
B. Commercial and Landed			
1187	perfumer (gādhika)	Mitadeva	Paithan
Deshpande C	guild (seni)	-	-
Deshpande D	goldsmith (hiramakāra)	Kaṇhadāsa	-
1198	merchant (vaṇija)	Ghanāmadaḍa	-
C. Sangha			
Deshpande B	nun (bhichuni)	-	-
D. Others			
1188	-	sons of Saghaka	Paithan
Deshpande A	-	Kaṇha	Dhenukākaṭa
1197	-	Kaṭahādi	-
Dhavalikar no. 1	-	Kaṇhaka	-
Dhavalikar no. 2	-	Dhamadeva	Paithan
Group II - Nasik			
A. Royal and Administrative			
1123		Balaśrī	-
1124		Pulumāvi	-
1125		Gautamīputra	-
1126		Gautamīputra	-
1131		Uṣavadāta	-
1132	daughter of Nahapāna wife of Uṣavadāta	Dakhamitrā	-
1133		Uṣavadāta	-
1134	daughter of Nahapāna	Dakhamitrā	-
1135		Uṣavadāta	-

1141	daughter of, wife of royal minister (rāyāmaca)	Bhaṭapālikā	-
1144	officer (mahāmāta)	Samaṇa	Nasik
1146	wife of great general (mahāsenāpati)	Vāsū	-

B. Commercial and Landed

1127	merchant (nyegama)	Vira	-
1129	fisherman (dāsaka)	Mugudāsa	-
1138	son of writer (lekhaka)	Rāmaṁṇaka (son of Sivamita	-
1139	merchant (nekama)	Rāmaṇaka (son of Velīdāta)	-
1147	householder (kuṭuṁbika)	Dhaṇama	-
1148	writer (lekhaka)	Vudhika	Dasapura
1149	writer	Vudhika	Dasapura

C. Saṅgha

1128	nun (pavayitā)	Tāpasinī	-

D. Others

1122	fragmentary	Balaśrī ?	
1130	lay worshipper (upāsaka)	Dhamanaṁdin	-
1136	fragmentary	Uṣavadāta ?	
1137	wife of gaṇapaka	Viṣṇudatā	-
1140	Yoṇaka	Īdrāgnidata	Dhaṁtāmiti
1142	the village of Dhaṁbika, the Nāsika people		
1143	fragmentary		
1145	female lay worshipper (upāsikā)	Mamma	-

Group III - Junnar

A. Royal and Administrative

1174	minister (amātya) to Nahapāna	Ayama	-

B. Commercial and Landed

1153	chief householder (gahapatipamugha) upright merchant ? (dhaṁmanigama)	Vīrasenaka	-
1157	sons of...a householder	-	-
1170	householder	Sivādasa	-

1171	grandson of a householder	Nandaṇaka	-
1172	merchant (negama)	-	-
1177	goldsmith (suvaṇakāra)	Saghaka	Kalyan
1179	treasurer (hairaṇyaka)	Sulasadata	Kalyan
1180	guild of corn dealers (dhaṁñikaseni)		

C. Sangha

-

D. Others

1150	fragmentary		
1151	Mudhakiya ?	Malla	-
	Golikiya ?	Ānada	-
1152	Patībadhaka ?	Giribhūti	Sakhuyāru -
1154	Yavana	Irila	Gatā (country) ?
1155	Patībadhaka	Giribhuti	-
1156	Yavana	Caṁda	-
1158	-	Palapa	-
1162	Śaka lay worshipper	Āḍuthuma	-
1163	fragmentary		
1164	vāhata	Vaceḍuka	-
1165	fragmentary		
1166	fragmentary		
1167	fragmentary		
1169	-	the brothers: Budharakhita Budhamita	Bhārukacha (Broach)
1173	-	Sivabhuti	-
1175	son of upāsaka	Sivabhuti	-
1176	wife of Torika, the Nādaka	Lachinikā	-
1178	son and grandson of upāsaka	Ānanda	-
1181	son of upāsaka	Isipālita	-
1182	Yavaṇa	Cita	Gatā (country) ?
1183	son of upāsaka	Isipālita	-

Group IV - Kanheri

A. Royal and Administrative

994	queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi daughter of Ru...		-
1013	bhoigī (bhojikī) wife of bhoja	Dāmilā	Aparāntika (Konkan), Kalyan
1021	Mahārathinī (wife of Mahārathi) sister of Mahābhoja)	Nāgamulanikā	-

B. Commercial and Landed

M. Leese	merchant (negama)	-	Kalyan
986	goldsmith (suvaṇakora)	Samidata	Kalyan
187	merchants (vāṇijaka)	Gajasena Gajamita	- -
993	wife of treasurer (heraṇika)	Sivapālitanikā	-
995	merchant (negama)	Samika	Sopara
996	son of treasurer (heraṇika)	Sulasadata	Chemula (Chaul)
998	merchant (negama)	Dhama...	Kalyan
1000	merchant (negama)	Isipāla	Kalyan
1001	merchant (negama) householder	-	Kalyan
1002	wife of 1001	-	Kalyan
1003	wife of banker (seṭhi), householder	Lavṁakā	Kalyan
1005	jeweller (manikāra)	Nāgapālita	Sopara
1009	mother of merchant (negama)	Lopā	-
1010	householder, son of banker (seṭhi)	...mita	-
1011	banker (seṭhi)	-	Kalyan
1012	sāgarapalogana (commuity of sea traders) ?		
1015	daughter of goldsmith (suvaṇakāra)	Samadevi	-
1019	daughter ? of householder	-	-
1024	son of merchant (negama)	Aparaeṇu	Kalyan
1027	merchant	Hundapala	Sopara
1031	banker (seṭhi) householder	Punaka ?	-
1032	blacksmith (kamāra)	Nada	Kalyan
1033	treasurer (heraṇaka)	Rohaṇimita	Chemula (Chaul)

C. Saṅgha

999	monk (pavajita)	Āṇada	-
1006	nun (pavaitikā) therī	Poṇakīasaṇā	-
1014	nun (bhikhuṇi)	Dāmilā	Kalyan
1016	monk (pavajita)	...mitranaka	-
1020	nun (pavaitikā)	Sāpā	Dhenukākaṭa
1025	nun	Gha...?	-

D. Others

985	-	Nākaṇaka	Nasik
988	fragmentary		
1007	-	Kaṇha	-
1017	fragmentary	Pavāyamala ?	
1018	fragmentary		

Group V - Karle, Bhaja, Selarvadi, Kondane, Bedsa

A. Royal and Administrative

1088	Mahāraṭhi	Agnimitraṇaka	-
1099		Uṣavadāta	-
1100	Mahāraṭhi	Somadeva	-
1105		Gautamīputra ?	-
Bhaja			
1079	Mahāraṭhi	Viṇhudata	-
Bedsa			
1111	Mahāraṭhinī daughter of Mahābhoya	Sāmaḍinikā	-

B. Commercial and Landed

1087	banker (seṭhi)	Bhutapāla	-
1090	perfumer (gaṁdhika)	Siṁhadata	-
1091	mother of householder (gahata)	Bhāyilā	-
1092	carpenter (vaḍhaki)	Sāmila	Dhenukākaṭa
Vats no. 3	community of traders (vāniya-gāma)		Dhenukākaṭa
Vats no. 9	son of trader (vāniya)	Isalaka	Dhenukākaṭa
Vats no. 12	relation of householder	Dhamdavayā	Dhenukāṭa
EI vol. 24	physician (veja)	Miṭidāsa ?	Dhenukākaṭa
Selarvadi			
1121	wife of householder (kuḍuhika), ploughman (hālakiya)	Siagutaṇikā	Dhenukākaḍa
Bedsa			
1109	son of banker (seṭhi)	Pusaṇaka	-

C. Saṅgha

1089	elder, monk (thera)	Iṁdadeva	-
1094	preacher (bhāṇaka)	Sātimita	Sopara
1095	preacher	Sātimita	Sopara
1098	nun (bhikhuṇi)	Asāḍhamitā	-
1101/2	monk (bhikhu)	Bhaḍasama	-
1104	nun (bhikhuṇi)	Koḍī	-
1108	monk (pavaita)	Budharakhita	-

D. Others

1093	Yavana	Sihadhaya	Dhenukākaṭa
1096	Yavana	-	Dhenukākaṭa
1097	-	Mitadevaṇaka	Dhenukākaṭa
1103	fragmentary		

1106	lay worshipper	Harapharaṇa	-
1107	female disciple (atevāsini)	-	-
Vats no. 1	Yavana	Viṭasaṁgata	Umekanākaṭa
Vats no. 2	lay worshipper	Dhamula	Gonekāka
Vats no. 4	Yavana	Dhamadhaya	Dhenukākaṭa
Vats no. 5	-	Rohamita	Dhenukākaṭa
Vats no. 6	Yavana	Culayakha	Dhenukākaṭa
Vats no. 7	Yavana	Sihadhaya	Dhenukākaṭa
Vats no. 8	-	Somilanaka	Dhenukākaṭa
Vats no. 10	Yavana	Yasavadhana	Dhenukākaṭa
Vats no. 11	wife of...	Mahamatā	Dhenukākaṭa
Kosambi	wife of Utaramati	Drāghamitā	Dhenukākaṭa

Bhaja

1078	Nāya ?	Nādasava	-
1080	donor not given		
1081	donor not given		
1082	donor not given		
1083	donor not given		
1084	wife of Hālika (agriculturist) ?	Bādhā	-
1085	fragmentary		
Deshpande no. 1	-	Dhamabhāga	-

Selarvadi

EI vol. 28	daughters of nun (pāvaītikaya)	Budhā	-
		Saghā	-

Kondane

1071	-	Balaka	-

Bedsa 1110	-	Asāḷamita	-

Group VI - Kuda, Nadsur, Mahad, Kol, Karadh

A. Royal and Administrative

1037	writer to Mahābhoja	Sivabhūti	-
1045	servant to Mahābhoja	Sivama (younger brother of Sivabhūti)	-
1049	chief of Maṁdavas ? son of Sivama	Kumāra	-
1053	daughter of royal minister (rājamaca)	Goyaṁmā	-
1054	daughter of Mahābhoya	Vijayanikā	-

Mahad

1072	prince (kumāra)	Kāṇaboa Vheṇupālita	-

B. Commercial and Landed

1048	physician (veja)	Somadeva	-
1051	garland maker (mālākāra)	Sivapirita	-

1055	iron merchant (lohavāniyiya)	Mahika	Karahākaḍa (Karadh)
1056	banker (seṭhi) householder	Vasula	-
1061	garland maker	Mugudāsa	-
1062	trader (sathavāha) householder	Nāga	-
1063	banker (seṭhi)	Vasulaṇaka	-
1064	banker	Vasulaṇaka	-
1065	wife of trader (sathavāha)	Sivadatā	-
1066	son of trader (sathavāha)	Asāḷamita	-
Mahad			
1073	wife of banker (seṭhi) householder	Vādasirī	-
Kol			
1075	banker (seṭhi) son of householder	Sagharakhita	-

C. Saṅgha

1041	nun (pāvayitikā)	Padumanikā	-
1060	nun (pāvaitikā)	Sapilā	-

D. Others

1038	fragmentary		
1039	fragmentary		
1040	fragmentary		
1042	fragmentary		
1050	wife of Brahman lay worshipper	-	-
1058	adhagacaka ?	Rāmadata	-
Nadsur			
1067	-	Godata	-
1068	-	various names	-
Kol			
1076	daughter of lay worshipper	-	-
1077	-	Sivadata	-
Karadh			
1184	-	Saṅghamitara	-